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THE DIARY
OF
SAMUEL PEPYS.

1662-1663.



CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED:

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1886.

INTRODUCTION.

THE reign of Charles the Second from the beginning of the year 1662 to the end of September, 1663, is brought back to us in the part of Pepys's Diary which this volume contains. There is just a note of the birth ("at which I find nobody pleased") of a girl, who after the Revolution reigned as Queen Mary, the wife of William III. There is all the stir that belonged to the coming to England of Charles the Second's Queen, Catherine of Portugal, with overestimate of the value of Tangier as part of her dowry, and ignorance of the future value of Bombay. There is evidence enough of the nature of the heartless and low-minded sensualist to whom Catherine came. There are not wanting direct and indirect regrets from Pepys at the King's turning from grave counsellors to yield to the influence of dissolute comrades. There is the beginning of the treacherous practice that secured the fall of Clarendon. There is the execution of Sir Henry Vane, at which Pepys was present, and in which the feeling of Pepys was clearly on the side of the brave spirit that then spoke its last on earth, while drums and trumpets were sounded to drown its voice. Also there is that Sunday in the London churches when two thousand ministers, driven out of the Church of England by the Act of Uniformity, were throughout England speaking for the last time to their congregations, and the rent was made in the Church that many a good Christian

would now give his life to repair, by re-establishing the unity of spirit among all who look to one book for their rule of faith, and leaving freedom for inevitable differences of opinion to each group of allied worshippers.

While Samuel Pepys followed the times, he followed them with more than common honesty; and if he had failings of his own, he had more good sense than he is usually credited with, and a wholesome sense of right. It may be that this volume and its predecessor make him seem the graver for omission of various little passages about himself, while leaving whatever illustrates a larger history than that of his own household. These omissions were not designed, but are due to an error not discovered till too late for remedy. In future, whenever Mr. Pepys looks in on the readers of this Library, which he will do two or three times in a year till his whole budget of talk is exhausted, he will have fullest liberty to talk about himself.

Here let it be said, in answer to many questions and many offers of abridgments, that the volumes of this National Library are meant to contain complete works, as their authors wrote them. Their uniformity of size is obtained by adjustment of types, not by excision of matter. From a collection of separate narratives, like "Hakluyt's Voyages," or detached fragments of opinion and anecdote like Luther's "Table Talk," selections can of course be made, but they are made only with the condition that each narrative is truly given, and that even detached passages be complete in themselves, and have no sentences omitted. Where change of convention would cause, in the modern reader, serious objection to a word or phrase, it is

altered ; but that is not often necessary. In the case of Samuel Pepys, Lord Braybrooke omitted from his edition much personal self-revelation. Some of this has been added by a later editor, Mr. Mynors Bright, and opinions may differ as to the kind and amount of information about the private affairs of Mr. Pepys himself that should go with his notes upon the world about him. I think the more the better. Why not record, as should be here recorded, on Sunday the first of March, 1663, "All to bed without prayers, it being washing day to-morrow;" and that on the 8th of September, when he dined at home with his wife, "it being washing day, we had a good pie baked of a leg of mutton; and then to Moxon's, and there bought a pair of globes, cost me £3 10s, with which I am well pleased." The globes were to assist the studies by which Pepys was always bettering his qualification for the service of the public, as Clerk of the Acts in the Navy Office. He had received a liberal school and University education, which had made him a reasonably good Latin scholar. But when he saw how the country was cheated in the Government service, one of his desires was to learn to measure timber himself, and in his Diary for the 18th of August, 1662, he tells us (page 56) how for this reason he practised measuring the tables while he was waiting for dinner at Ilford. He had engaged Mr. Cooper, mate of the *Royal Charles*, to teach him mathematics. "After an hour's being with him at arithmetic, my first attempt being to learn the multiplication table; then we parted till to-morrow."

Again, when we observe the domestic frugality that went with the characteristic little extravagances in dress for himself and his wife; the counting up of his

goods from time to time with accurate detail, as he rose in the world by honest devotion to the duty of his office, with profligate and careless men around him, and the slow accumulation of his gains—in June, 1663, he reckoned himself worth £700, against £530 in May, 1662—we are very far from laughing at Samuel Pepys. At a time when he is finding £50,000 unaccounted for in Navy money, which can only have gone into the pockets of chiefs in his office, after noting that he has made a contract of £3,000 for masts, he adds, “But, good God, to see what a man might do were I a knave !”

Of course it is easy to laugh at the little weaknesses for pretty clothes and pretty women, and the little weaknesses of judgment, one of which finds pleasant confession, when he tells (page 100) how he sold “Hudibras” for eighteen-pence, after paying two and sixpence for it, because he was ashamed of the book and thought it silly, but bought it again (page 111) when the general applause made him distrust his first opinion. I note even with some satisfaction the trivial detail of the inward struggles that caused Mr. Pepys to leave off the dirty artificial dressing of his natural hair and wear a border or a periwig: “I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great.” In a rash mood, although after reflection, he cut off the beard which it had cost him some years to grow; but he found pleasure in shaving and polishing his face and head with a pumice stone, a device he learnt of Mr. March when he was at Portsmouth. “I find it,” he says, “very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it.”

H. M.

PEPYS'S DIARY.

January 2, 1661-62. I went forth, by appointment, to meet with Mr. Grant, who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper, the great limner in little. Sir Richd. Fanshaw is come suddenly from Portugal, and nobody knows what his business is about.

To Faithorne's, and there bought some pictures of him; and while I was there, comes by the King's life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inn this afternoon to see the revels there; there being, according to an old custom, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge.

11th. To the Exchange, and there all the news is of the French and Dutch joining against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon, to Sir W. Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custom of the election of the Duke of Genoa, who for two years is every day attended in the greatest state, and four or five hundred men always waiting upon him as a king; and when the two years are out, and another is chosen, a messenger is sent to him, who stands at the bottom of the stairs, and he at the top, and says, "V^a Illustrissima Serenita sta finita, et puede andar en casa."

“Your serenity is now ended; and now you may be going home;” and so claps on his hat. And the old Duke (having by custom sent his goods home, before) walks away, it may be but with one man at his heels; and the new one brought immediately in his room, in the greatest state in the world. Another account was told us, how in the Dukedom of Ragusa, in the Adriatic, a State that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turks lie round about it, that they change all the officers of their guard, for fear of conspiracy, every twenty-four hours, so that nobody knows who shall be captain of the guard to-night; but two men come to a man, and lay hold of him as a prisoner, and carry him to the place, and there he hath the keys of the garrison given him, and he presently issues his orders for that night's watch; and so always from night to night. Sir Wm. Rider told the first of his own knowledge; and both he and Sir W. Batten confirm the last.

13th. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr. Peter and the Dean, and Colonel Honiwood, brothers, to dine with me; but so soon that I was troubled at it. Mr. Peter did show us the experiment (which I had heard talk of) of the chemical glasses, which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me.

15th. Mr. Berkenshaw asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating to-day; telling me that it is a fast day ordered by the Parliament, to pray

for more seasonable weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague (as all men think) to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.

16th. Towards Cheapside; and in Paul's Church-yard saw the funeral of my Lord Cornwallis, late Steward of the King's House, go by. Stoakes told us, that notwithstanding the country of Gambo is so unhealthy, yet the people of the place live very long, so as the present King there is 150 years old, which they count by rains: because every year it rains continually four months together. He also told us that the Kings there have above 100 wives apiece.

18th. Comes Mr. Moore to give me an account how Mr. Montagu was gone away of a sudden with the fleet, in such haste that he hath left behind some servants, and many things of consequence; and among others, my Lord's commission for Ambassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to Whitehall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoken with Mr. Ralph Montagu, his brother (and here we stayed talking with Sarah and the old man); but by-and-by hearing that he was in Covent Garden, we went thither: and at my Lady Harvy's his sister, I spoke with him, and he tells me that the Commission is not left behind.

22nd. After music practice, to Whitehall, and thence

to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr. George Montagu's, to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman. After this discourse he told me, among other news, the great jealousies that are now in the Parliament House. The Lord Chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York General thereof. But the House did in very open terms say they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the command of an army is not beholden to anybody to make him King. There are factions, private ones at Court, about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her now that the Queen is coming. He told me, too, what sport the King and Court do make at Mr. Edwd. Montagu's leaving his things behind him. But the Chancellor (taking it a little more seriously) did openly say to my Lord Chamberlain, that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville his son, it might have been taken as a frolic: but for him that would be thought a grave cpxcomb, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers that remain to be executed, but Fleetwood and Downes.

25th. At home and the office all the morning. Walking in the garden to give the gardener directions

what to do this year (for I intend to have the garden handsome), Sir W. Pen came to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalen, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it. Thence with him to the Trinity House to dinner; where Sir Richd. Brown, one of the clerks of the Council, and who is much concerned against Sir N. Crisp's project of making a great sasse in the King's lands about Deptford, to be a wet-dock to hold 200 sail of ships. But the ground, it seems, was long since given by the King to Sir Richard. After the Trinity House men had done their business, the master, Sir Wm. Rider, came to bid us welcome, and so to dinner. Comes Mr. Moore with letters from my Lord Sandwich, speaking of his lying still at Tangier, looking for the fleet; which, we hope, is now in a good way thither.

27th. This morning, both Sir Williams and I by barge to Deptford Yard to give orders in business there; and called on several ships, also to give orders. Going to take water upon Tower Hill, we met with three sledges standing there to carry my Lord Monson and Sir H. Mildmay and another, to the gallows and back again, with ropes about their necks; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing the King.

February 1. This morning with Commissioner Pett to the office; and he stayed there writing, while I and

Sir W. Pen walked in the garden talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Dr. Fairebrother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton of Magdalene. Thence with Mr. Pett to the painter's; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countess of Sandwich, to lead him to her to kiss her hands; and dined with her, and told her the news (which Sir W. Pen told me to do) that express is come from my Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the mole of Argier is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the mole. So that God Almighty hath now ended that unlucky business for us; which is very good news.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full term. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crowe's, where one Mr. Templer (an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be) dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and do feed upon larks, which they take thus:—They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouth uppermost, and there, as is conceived, they do eject poison upon the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent, which is very strange. He is a great traveller; and, speaking of the tarantula, he

says that all the harvest long (about which times they are most busy) there are fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me and did serve a subpoena upon me for one Field, whom we did commit to prison the other day for some ill words he did give the office. The like he had for others, but we shall scoure him for it.

5th. To the playhouse, and there saw *Rule a Wife and have a Wife* very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her sickness, continues a great beauty.

7th. I hear the prisoners in the Tower that are to die are come to the Parliament House this morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner with my Lady; where a civet cat, parrot, apes, and many other things are come from my Lord by Captain Hill, who dined with my Lady with us to-day. Thence to the painter's, and am well pleased with our pictures.

10th. To Paul's Churchyard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's "England's Worthies," the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that (though he had some discourse with me about my family and arms) he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.

13th. Mr. Blackburne do tell me plain of the corruption of all our Treasurer's officers, and that they

hardly pay any money-under 10 per cent.; and that the other day, for a mere assignation of £200 to some counties, they took £15, which is very strange. Last night died the Queen of Bohemia.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity House; and there in their society had the business debated of Sir Nicholas Crisp's sasse [sluice or lock] at Deptford. After dinner I was sworn a Younger Brother; Sir W. Rider being Deputy-Master for my Lord of Sandwich; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand; it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captn. Cock, and Captn. Tinker of the *Uovertine*, which we are going to look upon (being intended with these ships fitting for the East Indies), down to Deptford; and thence, after being on shipboard, to Woolwich, and there ate something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh, Captn. Cock and I had a breast of veal roasted.

18th. Having agreed with Sir William Pen to meet him at the Opera, and finding, by my walking in the streets, which were everywhere full of brickbats and tiles flung down by the extraordinary wind the last night (such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector), that it was dangerous to go out of doors; and hearing how several persons had been killed to-day by the fall of things in the

streets, and that the pageant in Fleet Street is most of it blown down, and hath broken down part of several houses, among others, Dick Brigden's, and that one Lady Sanderson, a person of quality in Covent Garden, was killed by the fall of the house, in her bed, last night, I sent my boy to forbid him to go forth. But he bringing me word that he is gone, I went thither and saw *The Law against Lovers*, a good play, and well performed, especially the little girl's (whom I never saw act before) dancing and singing; and were it not for her, the loss of Roxalana would spoil the house.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defeat given to the Portuguese there by the Moors, he had put in 300 men into the town, and so he is in possession, of which we are very glad, because now the Spaniards' designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated. I went with the letter enclosed to my Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and did give it him in the House. Went by promise to Mr. Savill's, and there sat the first time for my picture in little, which pleaseth me well.

22nd. This evening I wrote letters to my father; among other things, acquainted him with the unhappy accident which hath happened lately to my Lord of Dorset's two oldest sons, who, with two Belasses and one Squire Wentworth, were lately apprehended for killing and robbing of a tanner about Newington on Wednesday last, and are all now in Newgate. I am

much troubled for it, and for the grief and disgrace it brings to their families and friends.

23rd. This day by God's mercy I am twenty-nine years of age, and in very good health, and like to live and get an estate; and if I have a heart to be contented, I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any in the world, for which God be praised. So to prayers and to bed.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind; and I heard one say that he had five great trees standing together blown down; and, beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the Forest of Dean, that above 1,000 oaks and as many beeches are blown down in one walk there. And letters from my father tell me of £20 hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-book I find that my Lord Buckhurst and his fellows have printed their case as they did give it in upon examination to a Justice of Peace, wherein they make themselves a very good tale that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him; and that he himself confessed it was the first time of his robbing; and that he did pay dearly for it, for he was a dead man. But I doubt things will be proved otherwise than they say.

March 1. To the Opera, and there saw *Romeo and Juliet* the first time it was ever acted. I am

resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less.

3rd. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2s. per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crown.

7th. Early to Whitehall to the chapel, where by Mr. Blagrave's means I got into his pew, and heard Dr. Cretton, the great Scotchman, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King, and Duke and Duchess, upon the words of Micah:—"Roll yourselves in dust." He made a most learned sermon upon the words; but in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life. Just such a man as Hugh Peters; saying that it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come with the King into England again; for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate, and to swear to the oath of allegiance &c., was better treated nowadays in Newgate than a poor Royalist that hath suffered all his life for the King is at Whitehall among his friends.

8th. By coach with both Sir Williams to Westminster, this being a great day there in the House to pass the business for chimney-money, which was done. In the Hall I met with Surgeon Pierce: and he told me how my Lady Monk hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edwd. Montagu hoped to have had, as he was Master of the Horse to the Queen; which I am afraid will undo him, because he depended much

upon the profit of what he should make by these places. He told me, also, many more scurvy stories of him and his brother Ralph, which troubles me to hear of persons of honour as they are. Sir W. Pen and I to the office, whither afterward came Sir G. Carteret; and we sent for Sir Thos. Allen, one of the Aldermen of the City, about the business of one Colonel Appesly, whom we had taken counterfeiting of bills with all our hands and the officers of the yards, so well that I should never have mistrusted them. We stayed about this business at the office till ten at night, and at last did send him with a constable to the Counter; and did give warrants for the seizing of a complice of his, one Blenkinsopp.

12th. This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing (like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it) hath taken Okey, Corbet, and Barkestead at Delfe, in Holland, and sent them home in the *Blackmore*. Sir W. Pen, talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebel Cromwell, by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world—and they know it too.

14th. Home to dinner. In the afternoon came the

German Dr. Knuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us that when he comes to tell the King his secret (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs, must know it), it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing: but shall discourse with the Duke of York to-morrow about it.

16th. Walked to Whitehall; and an hour or two in the Park, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke came to see their fowl play. The Duke took very civil notice of me.

17th. Last night the *Blackmore* pink brought the three prisoners, Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet to the Tower, being taken at Delfe, in Holland; where, the Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so; though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains.

21st. To Westminster Hall; and there walked up and down and heard the great difference that hath been between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Bristol, about a proviso that my Lord Chancellor would have brought into the Bill for Conformity, that it shall be in the power of the King, when he sees fit, to dispense with the Act of Conformity; and though it be

carried in the House of Lords, yet it is believed it will hardly pass in the Commons.

23rd. To Whitehall, and there met with Captn. Isham, this day come from Lisbon, with letters from the Queen to the King. And he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbon; and that the Queen do not intend to embark sooner than tomorrow some fortnight.

24th. By-and-by comes La Belle Pierce to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of peruques of hair, as the fashion now is for ladies to wear, which are pretty, and are of my wife's own hair, or else I should not endure them.

April 6 (Lord's Day). By water to Whitehall to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardness of the ships we have hired to Portugal, at which he is much troubled. Thence to the Chapel, and there, though crowded, heard a very honest sermon before the King by a Canon of Christ Church, upon these words, "Having a form of godliness, but denying," &c. Among other things, he did much insist upon the sin of adultery: which methought might touch the King, and the more because he forced it into his sermon, besides his text. So up and saw the King at dinner; and thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner with him and his lady. All their discourse, which was very much, was upon their sufferings and services for the King. Yet not without some trouble, to see that some that had been much

bound to them do now neglect them; and others again most civil that have received least from them: and I do believe that he hath been a good servant to the King. Thence to the Park, where the King and Duke did walk.

7th. To the Lords' House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seal, and he came out to me; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month; but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me. The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portuguese by sea, at Lisbon, as soon as our fleet is come away; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two months or three, which I hope is not true.

9th. Sir George showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange.

10th. Yesterday came Col. Talbot with letters from Portugal, that the Queen is resolved to embark for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor came to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us; he being to go as Governor of Jamaica with this fleet that is now going.

11th. With Sir W. Pen by water to Deptford: and among the ships now going to Portugal with men and horse, to see them despatched. So to Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Captn. Minnes, whom I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the captains that were with us told me that negroes drowned look white and lose their blackness, which I never heard before. At Woolwich up and down to do the same business, and so back to Greenwich by water. Sir William and I walked into the Park, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repairing in the Queen's lodgings.

13th. To Gray's Inn walks, and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchess of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queen this week; which is now the discourse and expectation of the town.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashioned petticoats of sarcenet, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate; and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkestead, Okey, and Corbet drawn towards the

gallows at Tyburn, and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all die defending what they did to the King to be just; which is very strange.

20th. (Lord's Day). My intention being to go this morning to Whitehall to hear South, my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, the famous preacher and orator of Oxford (who the last Lord's Day did sink down in the pulpit before the King and could not proceed), it did rain, and the wind against me, that I could by no means get a boat or coach to carry me; and so I stayed at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a sermon, it being the first Sunday of the term; but they had a very poor sermon.

21st. At noon dined with my Lord Crewe; and after dinner went up to Sir Thomas Crewe's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchess of Richmond and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end. Coming down again to my Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queen is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to Whitehall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it.

22nd. We come to Guildford.

23rd. Up early, and to Petersfield; and thence got a countryman to guide us by Havant, to avoid going through the forest; but he carried us much out of the

way. I lay at Wiard's, the chirurgeon's, in Portsmouth.

24th. All of us to the pay-house; but the books not being ready, we went to church to the lecture, where there was my Lord Ormond and Manchester, and much London company, though not so much as I expected. Here we had a very good sermon upon this text: "In love serving one another," which pleased me very well. No news of the Queen at all. So to dinner, and then to the pay all the afternoon. Then W. Pen and I walked to the King's Yard.

26th. Sir George and I, and his clerk, Mr. Stevens, and Mr. Holt our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's parks and lands, in which in one view we could see £6,000 per annum, we observed a little churchyard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton. The town is one most gallant street, and is walled round with stone, &c., and Bevis's picture upon one of the gates: many old walls of religious houses, and the quay well worth seeing.

27th. I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlain upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowd of gallants through the Queen's lodgings to chapel; the rooms being all rarely furnished, and escaped hardly being set on fire yesterday. At chapel we had a most excellent and eloquent sermon. By coach to the Yard, and

then on board the *Swallow* in the dock, where our navy chaplain preached a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin; but prayed for the Right Honourable the principal officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queen, which is a saltcellar of silver, the walls crystal, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to bear up a dish; which indeed is one of the neatest pieces of plate that ever I saw, and the case is very pretty also. This evening came a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugal; but, Lord! what running there was to the seaside to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queen.

May 1. Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, with our clerks, set out this morning from Portsmouth very early, and got by noon to Petersfield; several officers of the Yard accompanying us so far. At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford from London, going to Portsmouth: tells us that the Duchess of York is brought to bed of a girl, at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworn of the Privy Council.

7th. Walked to Westminster; where I understand the news that Mr. Montagu is last night come to the King with news, that he left the Queen and fleet in the Bay of Biscay, coming this wayward; and that he believes she is now at the Isle of Scilly. Thence to Paul's Church Yard; where seeing my Lady's Sandwich

and Carteret, and my wife (who this day made a visit the first time to my Lady Carteret), come by coach, and going to Hyde Park, I was resolved to follow them; and so went to Mrs. Turner's: and thence at the Theatre, where I saw the last act of the *Knight of the Burning Pestle* (which pleased me not at all). And so after the play done, she and Theo. Turner and Mrs. Lucin and I, in her coach to the Park; and there found them out and spoke to them; and observed many fine ladies, and stayed till all were gone almost.

8th. Sir G. Carteret told me, that the Queen and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queen endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath done some execution upon the Turks in the Strait, of which I was glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it. Sir G. Carteret, among other discourse, tells me that it is Mr. Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W. Pen, and threatens him highly. And looking upon his lodgings, which are now enlarging, he in a passion cried, "Guarda mi spada; for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland, when he is there:" for Sir W. Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant. But it is my design to keep much in with Sir George; and I think I have begun very well towards it.

9th. The Duke of York went last night to Portsmouth; so that I believe the Queen is near.

10th. At noon to the Wardrobe; there dined. My Lady told me how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court, which she and all our ladies are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to show her countenance in the sight of the Queen when she comes. In the evening Sir G. Carteret and I did hire a ship for Tangier, and other things together; and I find that he do single me out to join with me apart from the rest, which I am much glad of.

11th. In the afternoon to Whitehall; and there walked an hour or two in the Park, where I saw the King now out of mourning, in a suit laced with gold and silver, which it is said was out of fashion. Thence to the Wardrobe; and there consulted with the ladies about going to Hampton Court to-morrow.

12th. Mr. Townsend called us up by four o'clock; and by five the three ladies, my wife and I, and Mr. Townsend, his son and daughter, were got to the barge and set out. We walked from Mortlake to Richmond, and so to boat again. And from Teddington to Hampton Court Mr. Townsend and I walked again; and then met the ladies, and were shown the whole house by Mr. Marriott; which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queen's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glass sent by the Queen-mother from France, hanging in the Queen's chamber, and

many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. She is afraid that my Lady Castlemaine will keep still with the King.

15th. To Westminster; and at the Privy Seal I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us. At night, all the bells of the town rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queen's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much true joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of the people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

18th. (Whitsunday.) By water to Whitehall, and there to chapel in my pew belonging to me as Clerk of the Privy Seal; and there I heard a most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, upon these words: "He that drinketh this water shall never thirst." We had an excellent anthem, sung by Captn. Cooke and another, and brave music. And then the King came down and offered, and took the sacrament upon his knees; a sight very well worth seeing. After dinner to chapel again; and there had another good anthem of Captn. Cooke's. Thence to the Council-chamber; where the King and Council sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the galleries till that time of night. They

were reading all the bills over that are to pass to-morrow at the House, before the King's going out of town and proroguing the House. At last, the Council risen, Sir G. Carteret told me what the Council hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugal, which is now altered.

19th. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against afternoon for the King to pass their Acts, that he may go out of town. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then prorogued them; and so to Guildford, and lay there.

20th. Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so home again. Then comes Dean Fuller; and I am most pleased with his company and goodness.

21st. My wife and I to my Lord's lodging; where she and I stayed walking in Whitehall garden. And in the privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw: and did me good to look at them. Sarah told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queen's arrival the King was there; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she

did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child, was said to be the heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going.

22nd. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of State Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a councillor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge; which I did.

23rd. To the Wardrobe, reading of the King's and Chancellor's late speeches at the proroguing of the Houses of Parliament. And while I was reading, news was brought me that my Lord Sandwich is come and gone up to my Lady's chamber; which by-and-by he did, and looks very well. He very merry, and hath left the King and Queen at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queen at Hampton Court. So to dinner; and my Lord mighty merry; among other things, saying that the Queen is a very agreeable lady, and paints well. After dinner I showed him my letter from Teddiman about the news from Argier, which pleases him exceedingly; and he wrote one to the Duke of York about it, and sent it express.

24th. Abroad with Mr. Creed, of whom I informed myself of all I had a mind to know. Among other things, the great difficulty my Lord hath been in all this summer for lack of good and full orders from the

King: and I doubt our Lords of the Council do not mind things as the late powers did, but their pleasure or profit more. That the Bull Feasts are a simple sport, yet the greatest in Spain. That the Queen hath given no rewards to any of the captains or officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich; and that was a bag of gold, which was no honorable present, of about £1,400 sterling. How recluse the Queen hath ever been, and all the voyage never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin; but did love my Lord's music, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it. But my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Council of Portugal about payment of the portion, before he could get it; which was, besides Tangier and free trade in the Indies, two millions of crowns, half now, and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in sugars and other commodities, and bills of exchange. That the King of Portugal is a very fool almost, and his mother do all, and he is a very poor Prince.

25th. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church: only in his latter prayer for a woman in childbed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of child-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Out with Captain Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph tavern he showed me some Portugal ladies, which are come to town before the Queen. They are

not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladies and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practices of their own country. They complain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's guards and some City companies do walk up and down the town these five or six days; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying.

26th. To the Trinity House; where the Brethren have been at Deptford choosing a new Master; which is Sir J. Minnes, notwithstanding Sir W. Batten did contend highly for it; at which I am not a little pleased because of his proud lady.

29th. This day, being the King's birthday, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queen this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

31st. The Queen is brought a few days since to Hampton Court: and all people say of her to be a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madam Castlemaine's nose out of joint. The court is wholly now at Hampton. A peace with Argier is lately made; which is also good news. My Lord Sandwich is lately come with the Queen from sea, very well and in good repute. The Act for

Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very much discontented; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King.

June 3. At the office, and Mr. Coventry brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. To the Wardrobe, where I found my lady come from Hampton Court, where the queen hath used her very civilly; and my lady tells me is a most pretty woman. Yesterday (Sir R. Ford told me) the Aldermen of the City did attend her in their habits, and did present her with a gold cup and £1,000 in gold therein. But, he told me, that they are so poor in their Chamber, that they were fain to call two or three Aldermen to raise fines to make up this sum.

4th. Povy and Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Ford's Holland's yarn (about which we have lately had so much stir; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr. Hughes, who represented it so bad), and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair trial, five threads of that against four of Riga yarn; and also that some of it had old stuff that had been tarred, covered over with new hemp, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of.

7th. To the office. I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to inquire into all the miscarriages

of the office. At noon with him and Sir W. Batten to dinner at Trinity House; where, among others, Sir J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, was, who says that yesterday Sir H. Vane had a full hearing at the King's Bench, and is found guilty; and that he did never hear any man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret's. I perceive as he told me, were it not that Mr. Coventry had already feathered his nest in selling of places, he do like him very well, and hopes great good from him. But he complains so of lack of money, that my heart is very sad under the apprehension of the fall of the office.

10th. All the morning much business; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office.

12th. I tried on my riding cloth suit with close knees, the first that ever I had; and I think they will be very convenient. At the office all the morning. Among other businesses, I did get a vote signed by all, concerning my issuing of warrants, which they did not smell the use I intend to make of it; but it is to plead for my clerks to have their right of giving out all the warrants. A great difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry, about passing the Victualler's account, and whether Sir George is to pay the Victualler his money, or the Exchequer; Sir George claiming it to be his place to save his three-pences. It ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a question before the King and Council.

. 13th. Up by 4 o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly: and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him; but I perceive it ~~was~~ my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life. By and by to Sir G. Carteret's, to talk with him about yesterday's difference at the office; and offered my service to look into my old books or papers that I have, that may make for him. He was well pleased therewith, and did much inveigh against Mr. Coventry; telling me how he had done him service in the Parliament, when Prin had drawn up things against him for taking of money for places; that he did at his desire, and upon his letters, keep him off from doing it. And many other things he told me, as how the King was beholden to him, and in what a miserable condition his family would be, if he should die before he hath cleared his accounts. Upon the whole, I do find that he do much esteem of me, and is my friend, and I may make good use of him.

14th. About 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower Hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the Sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that wrote after him to be given the Sheriff; and the trumpets were

brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman, who had been upon the scaffold, told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed; and that there he was stopped by the Sheriff. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and began to tell them first his life; that he was born a gentleman; he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament; where he never did, to this day, anything against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over: and so fell into prayer for England in general, then for the churches in England, and then for the City of London: and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not to hurt; he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the

right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heat than cowardice but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, "You shall see I can pray for the King, I pray God bless him!" The King had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was. So to the office a little, and to the Trinity House, and there all of us to dinner; and to the office again all the afternoon till night. This day, I hear, my Lord Peterborough is come unexpected from Tangier, to give the King an account of the placé, which, we fear, is in none of the best condition. We had also certain news to-day that the Spaniard is before Lisbon with thirteen sail; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugal. I wrote a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchinbroke.

18th. Up early: and after reading a little in Cicero, to my office. To my Lord Crewe's and dined with him; where I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on everywhere as a miracle. I walked to Lilly's, the painter's, where I saw, among other rare things, the Duchess of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white satin, and another of the King's, that is not finished; most rare things. I did

give the fellow something that showed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he would show me Lady Castlemaine's, which I could not then see, it being locked up! Thence to Wright's, the painter's; but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works.

20th. Drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter, about the Forest of Dean; and having done it, he come himself (I did not know him to be the Queen's Secretary before, but observed him to be a man of fine parts); and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forest of Dean, in Speed's Maps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-baily, with the great charge of carrying it to Lydney, and many other things worth my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business.

I went to the Exchange, and I hear that the merchants have a great fear of ~~as~~ breach with the Spaniard; for they think he will not brook our having Tangier, Dunkirke, and Jamaica; and our merchants begin to draw home their estates as fast as they can.

21st. At noon Sir W. Pen and I to the Trinity House, where was a feast made by the wardens. Great good cheer, and much but ordinary company. The Lieutenant of the Tower, upon my demanding how Sir H. Vane died, told me that he died in a passion; but all confess with so much courage as never man did.

• 22nd. This day I am told of a Portugal lady, at Hampton Court, that hath dropped a child already since the Queen's coming, and the King would not have them searched whose it is, and so it is not commonly known yet. Coming home to-night I met with Will Swan, who do talk as high for the fanatics as ever he did in his life, and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world, and that a fall is coming upon us all; for he finds that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this "Act of Uniformity," or they will die, and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to heaven, for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did, and that the King hath lost more by that man's death than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think; but, I confess, I do think that the bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do. Meeting with Frank Moore, my Lord Lambeth's man formerly, we, and two or three friends of his, did go to a tavern; but one of our company, a talking fellow, did in discourse say much of this Act against seamen, for their being brought to account, and that it was made on purpose for my Lord Sandwich, who was in debt £100,000, and hath been forced to have pardon oftentimes from Oliver for the same, at which I was vexed.

24th. At night news is brought me that Field the rogue hath this day cast me at Guildhall in £30 for his imprisonment, to which I signed his commitment with the rest of the officers; but they having been parliament men, he do begin the law with me, but threatens more.

26th. Mr. Nicholson, my old fellow-student at Magdalene come, and we played three or four things upon the violin and bass.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there, and in his night-gown and shirt stood talking with me alone two hours I believe, concerning his greatest matters of state and interest. Among other things, that his greatest design is, first, to get clear of all debts to the King for the Embassy money, and then a pardon. Then to get his land settled, and then to discourse and advise what is best for him, whether to keep his sea employment longer or no; for he do discern that the Duke would be willing to have him out, and that by Coventry's means. And here he told me how the terms at Argier were wholly his, and that he did plainly tell Lawson and agree with him, that he would have the honour of them if they should ever be agreed to; and that accordingly they did come over hither entitled, "Articles concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, according to instructions received from His Royal Highness James, Duke of York, &c., and from His Excellency the Earl of Sandwich." (Which, however, was more than needed; but Lawson tells my

Lord in his letter, that it was not he, but the Council of War, that would have "His Royal Highness" put into the title, though he did not contribute one word to it.) But the Duke of York did yesterday propose them to the Council to be printed with this title: "Concluded on by Sir J. Lawson, Knt." and my Lord quite left out. Here I find my Lord very politic, for he tells me that he discerns they design to set up Lawson as much as they can, and that he do counterplot them by setting him up higher still, by which they will find themselves spoiled of their design, and at last grow jealous of Lawson. This he told me with much pleasure, and that several of the Duke's servants, by name my Lord Barkeley, Mr. Talbot, and others, had complained to my Lord, of Coventry, and would have him out. My Lord do acknowledge that his greatest obstacle is Coventry. He did seem to hint such a question as this: "Hitherto I have been supported by the King and Chancellor against the Duke, but what if it should come about that it should be the Duke and Chancellor against the King." which, though he said it in several plain words, yet I could not fully understand it, but may more hereafter. My Lord did also tell me, that the Duke himself at Portsmouth did thank my Lord for all his pains and care; and that he perceived it must be the old captains that must do the business, and that the new ones would spoil all. And that my Lord did very discreetly tell the Duke (though quite against his judgment and inclination) that, how-

ever, the King's new captains ought to be borne with a little and encouraged. By which he will oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, their envy; but he says certainly things will go to rack if ever the old captains should be wholly out and the new ones only command.

I met Sir W. Pen. He told me the day now was fixed for his going into Ireland, and that whereas I had mentioned some service he could do a friend of mine there, Samuel Pepys, he told me he would most readily do what I would command him.

28th. Great talk there is of a fear of a war with the Dutch, and we have order to pitch upon twenty ships to be forthwith set out; but I hope it is but a scare-crow to the world, to let them see that we can be ready for them; though, God knows! the King is not able to set out five ships at this present, without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores.

30th. Told my Lady (Carteret) how my Lady Fanshaw is fallen out with her only for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the Court by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train.

OBSERVATIONS.

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented;

some that the King do not gratify them enough, and the others, fanatics of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. Much clamour against the chimney money, and the people say they will not pay it without force. And in the meantime like to have war abroad, and Portugal to assist when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home.

July 2. Up while the chimes went four, and so put down my journal. So to my office to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the Yard, for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett, and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in his boat expecting us. So we down to him at the Tower, and there took water all and to Deptford (he in our passage taking notice how much difference there is between the old captains for obedience and order, and the King's new capt^{ains}, which I am very glad to hear him confess), and there we went into the store-house, and viewed first the provisions there, and then his books (but Mr. Davis himself was not there), and I do not perceive that there is one-third of their duties performed; but I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things performed. In the evening come Mr. Lewis to me, and very ingeniously did inquire whether I ever did look into the business of the

Chest at Chatham, and after my readiness to be informed did appear to him, he did produce a paper wherein he stated the government of the Chest to me and upon the whole did tell me how it hath ever been abused, and to this day is, and what a meritorious act it would be to look after it, which I am resolved to do if God bless me, and do thank him very much for it.

3rd. Dined with the Officers of the Ordnance, where Sir W. Compton, Mr. O'Neale, and other great persons were. After dinner was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times, the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable and not a bauble, for it is much approved of and many thereof made.

6th. To supper with my Lady (Sandwich), who tells me with much trouble that my Lady Castlemaine is still a great favourite with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did. Jack Cole, my old friend, found me out at the Wardrobe, and among other things he told me that certainly most of the chief ministers of London would fling up their livings, and that, soon or late, the issue thereof would be sad to the King and Court.

8th. To the Wardrobe, where, all alone with my Lord above an hour; and he do seem still to have his old confidence in me, and tells me to boot that Mr. Coventry hath spoke of me to him to great advantage, wherein I am much pleased. By-and-by comes in Mr. Coventry to visit my Lord, and so my Lord and he and I walked together in the great chamber a good

while, and I found him a most ingenuous man and good company.

16th. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine (being quite fallen out with her husband) did yesterday go away from him, with all her plate, jewels, and other best things, and is gone to Richmond to a brother of hers, which I am apt to think was a design to get out of town, that the King might come at her the better.

17th. To my office, and by-and-by to our sitting, where much business. Mr. Coventry took his leave, being to go with the Duke over for the Queen-Mother.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river. It raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King come by in his barge, going down towards the Downs to meet the Queen, the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

21st. To Woolwich to the rope yard, and there looked over several sorts of hemp, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the charge in the dressing of every sort; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King some service in it, and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to town, to present to him. I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22nd. I had letters from the Downs from Mr. Coventry, who tells me of the foul weather they had

last Sunday, that drove them back from near Bologne, whither they were going for the Queen, back again to the Downs, with the loss of their cables, sails, and masts, but are all safe, only my Lord Sandwich, who went before with the yacht, they know not what is become of him, which do trouble me much; but I hope he got ashore before the storm began, which God grant!

23rd. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and down the town, that my Lord Sandwich is lost; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

26th. I had a letter from Mr. Creed, who hath escaped narrowly in the King's yacht, and got safe to the Downs after the late storm, and he says that there the King do tell him that he is sure my Lord is landed in Calais safe. This afternoon I went to Westminster, and there hear that the King and Queen intend to come to Whitehall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence to Mrs. Sarah, and there looked over my Lord's lodgings, which are very pretty, and Whitehall garden and the bowling-alley (where lords and ladies are now at bowls), in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child lately, which he would have, and had done by a priest, and some days after, she had it again christened by a minister, the King, and Lord of

• Oxford, and Duchess of Suffolk being witnesses; and christened with a proviso that it had not already been christened. Since that she left her Lord, carrying away everything in the house; so much as every dish, and cloth, and servant, but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery, and now she is coming back again to her house in King Street. But I hear that the Queen did prick her out of the list presented her by the King, desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come; and that the King was angry and the Queen discontented a whole day and night upon it, but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well; and so I wrote this night to my Lady to be my opinion; she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis court.

27th. I to walk in the Park, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it.

28th. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower; hearing that the Queen-Mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich: and that my Lord Sandwich was with her; at which my heart was glad.

30th. By water to Whitehall, and there waited upon my Lord Sandwich; and joyed him, at his lodgings, of his safe coming home after all his danger, which he

confesses to be very great. And his people do tell me how bravely my Lord did carry himself, while my Lord Crofts did cry; and I perceive all the town talk how poorly he carried himself. But the best was one of Mr. Rawlins a courtier, that was with my Lord; and in the greatest danger cried, "My Lord, I won't give you three-pence for your place now." But all ends in the honour of the pleasure-boats; which, had they not been very good boats, they could never have endured the sea as they did.

31st. At noon Mr. Coventry and I by his coach to the Exchange together; and in Lombard Street met Captn. Browne of the Rosebush, at which he was cruel angry; and did threaten to go to-day to the Duke at Hampton Court, and get him turned out because he was not sailed.

August 3. This day Commissioner Pett told me how despicable a thing it is to be a hangman in Poland, although it be a place of credit. And that, in his time there was some repairs to be made of the gallows there, which was very fine of stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgomaster, or Mayor of the town, with all the companies of those trades which were necessary to be used about those repairs, did go in their habits with flags, in solemn procession to the place, and there the Burgomaster did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companies upon the works belonging to their trades; that so workmen might not

•be ashamed to be employed upon doing of the gallows works.

6th. By water to Whitehall; and so to St. James's; but there found Mr. Coventry gone to Hampton Court. So to my Lord's; and he is also gone. This being a great day at the Council about some business before the King. Here Mr. Pierce the surgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duel with Mr. Cholmely, that is first gentleman-usher to the Queen, and was a messenger to her from the King of Portugal, and is a fine gentleman; but had received many affronts from Mr. Montagu, and some unkindness from my Lord, upon his score (for which I am sorry). He proved too hard for Montagu, and drove him so far backward that he fell into a ditch, and dropped his sword, but with honour would take no advantage over him; but did give him his life. And the world says Mr. Montagu did carry himself very poorly in the business, and hath lost his honour for ever with all people in it. This afternoon Mr. Waith was with me, and did tell me much concerning the Chest, which I am resolved to look into; and I perceive he is sensible of Sir W. Batten's carriage; and is pleased to see anything work against him.

8th. Dined with Mr. Falconer; thence we walked talking all the way to Greenwich, and I do find excellent discourse from him. Among other things, his rule of suspecting every man that proposes anything to him to be a knave, or at least, to have some ends of

his own in it. Being led thereto by the story of Sir John Millicent, that would have had a patent from King James for every man to have had leave to have given him a shilling; and that he might take it of every man that had a mind to give it; and what he would do to them that would not give him. He answered, he would not force them; but that they should come to the Council of State, to give a reason why they would not. Another rule is a proverb that he hath been taught, which is that a man that cannot sit still in his chamber (the reason of which I did not understand), and he that cannot say no (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny anything, or cross another in doing anything), is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend in.

9th. Mr. Coventry and I alone sat at the office all the morning upon business. And so to dinner to Trinity House, and thence by his coach towards Whitehall; but there being a stop at the Savoy, we light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of town, we parted there.

10th. I walked to St. Dunstan's, the church being now finished; and here I heard Dr. Bates, who made a most eloquent sermon; and I am sorry I have hitherto had so low an opinion of the man, for I have not heard a neater sermon a great while, and more to my content. My uncle Fenner told me the new service book (which is now lately come forth) was laid upon their desk at

St. Sepulchre's for Mr. George to read; but he laid it aside, and would not meddle with it; and I perceive the Presbyters do all prepare to give over all against Bartholomewtide. Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalm to the people while they sung at Dr. Bates's, which methought is a strange turn. After dinner to St. Bride's, and there heard one Carpenter, an old man, who they say hath been a Jesuit priest, and is come over to us; but he preached very well. Mr. Calamy hath taken his farewell this day of his people, and others will do so the next Sunday. Mr. Turner the draper, I hear is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for Sheriff, with Sir Thomas Bludworth, for the next year, by the King, and so are called with great honour the King's Sheriffs.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By-and-by we met on purpose to inquire into the business of flag-makers, where I am the person that do chiefly manage the business against them on the King's part; and I do find it the greatest cheat that I have yet found, they having eightpence per yard allowed them by pretence of a contract, where no such thing appears; and it is threepence more than was formerly paid, and than I now offer the board to have them done. To Lambeth, and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brunkard, and the virtuosoës of the town, according to new lines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily, but how it will prove we shall soon see.

14th. Commissioner Pett and I being invited, went by Sir John Winter's coach sent for us, to the Mitre, in Fenchurch Street, to a venison-pasty, where I found him a very worthy man, and good discourse. Most of which was concerning the Forest of Dean, and the timber there, and iron works with their great antiquity, and the vast heaps of cinders which they find, and are now of great value, being necessary for the making of iron at this day, and without which they cannot work; with the age of many trees there left at a great fall in Edward the Third's time, by the name of forbid-trees, which at this day, are called vorbid trees.

15th. I went to Paul's Church Yard to my book-seller's, and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in town, who I hear, will give up all. I pray God the issue may be good, for the discontent is great. My mind well pleased with a letter that I found at home from Mr. Coventry, expressing his satisfaction in a letter I wrote last night and sent him this morning to be corrected by him in order to its sending down to all the Yards as a charge to them.

17th. This being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach unless they read the New Common Prayer and renounce the Covenant, I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates's farewell sermon; and walked to St. Dunstan's, where, it not being seven o'clock yet, the doors were not open; and so I walked an hour in the Temple Garden. At eight o'clock I went and crowded

in at a back door among others, the church being half-full almost before any doors were open publicly; and so got into the gallery, beside the pulpit, and heard very well. His text was, "Now the God of Peace——," the last Hebrews, and the 20th verse; he making a very good sermon, and very little reflections in it to anything of the times. To Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave, though he, by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both sides. After dinner to St. Dunstan's again; and the church quite crowded before I come, which was just at one o'clock; but I got into the gallery again, but stood in a crowd. He pursued his text again very well, and only at the conclusion told us, after this manner: "I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, this being the last time that possibly I may appear here. You know it is not my manner to speak anything in the pulpit that is extraneous to my text and business, yet this I shall say, that it is not my opinion, fashion or humour, that keeps me from complying with what is required of us; but something after much prayer, discourse, and study, yet remains unsatisfied, and commands me herein. Wherefore, if it is my unhappiness not to receive such an illumination as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, as I am confident God will pardon me for it in the next." And

so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalm and chapters before sermon; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had done, says he, "This is just the case of England at present. God He bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach; and if we do, we are to be imprisoned and further punished. All that I can say to it is, that I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians, for us." This was all the exposition he made of the chapter in these very words, and no more. I was much pleased with Bates's manner of bringing in the Lord's Prayer after his own; thus, "In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires, saying, 'Our Father,' " etc. I hear most of the Presbyters took their leaves to-day, and that the City is much dissatisfied with it. I pray God keep peace among men in their rooms, or else all will fly a-pieces; for bad ones will not go down with the City.

18th. Mr. Deane of Woolwich and I rode into Waltham Forest, and there we saw many trees of the King's a-hewing; and he showed me the whole mystery of off square, wherein the King is abused in the timber that he buys, which I shall with much pleasure be able to correct. We rode to Illford, and there, while dinner was getting ready, he and I practised measuring of the tables and other things till I did understand measure of timber and board very well.

19th. At the office; and Mr. Coventry did tell us

of the duel between Mr. Jermyn, nephew to my Lord St. Alban's, and Colonel Giles Rawlins, the latter of whom is killed, and the first mortally wounded, as it is thought. They fought against Captain Thomas Howard, my Lord Carlisle's brother, and another unknown; who, they say, had armour on that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went up to the hilt against it. They had horses ready, and are fled. But what is most strange, Howard sent one challenge before, but they could not meet till yesterday at the old Pall Mall at St. James's, and he would not to the last tell Jermyn what the quarrel was nor do anybody know. The Court is much concerned in this fray, and I am glad of it; hoping that it will cause some good laws against it. After sitting, Sir G. Carteret did tell me how he had spoke of me to my Lord Chancellor, and that if my Lord Sandwich would ask my Lord Chancellor, he should know what he had said of me to him to my advantage.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many great persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, and may be of good concernment to me. By-and-by comes in Mr. Coventry to us, whom my Lord tells that he is also put into the commission, and that I am there, of which he said he was glad; and did tell my Lord that I was indeed the life of this office, and much more to my commendation beyond measure.

And that, whereas before he did bear me respect for his sake, so he do it now much more for my own; which is a great blessing to me. Sir G. Carteret having told me what he did yesterday concerning his speaking to my Lord Chancellor about me. So that on all hands, by God's blessing, I find myself a very rising man. By-and-by, comes my Lord Peterborough in, with whom we talked a good while, and he is going tomorrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland, which is of great concernment to Tangier.

23rd. Mr. Coventry and I did walk together a great while in the Garden, where he did tell me his mind about Sir G. Carteret's having so much the command of the money, which must be removed. And indeed it is the bane of all our business. He observed to me also, how Sir W. Batten begins to struggle and to look after his business. I also put him upon getting an order from the Duke for our inquiries into the Chest, which he will see done.

Mr. Creed and I walked down to the Tylt Yard, and so all along Thames Street, but could not get a boat; I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the day of the Queen's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to Whitehall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into Whitehall garden, and so to the Bowling-green, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which

was a most pleasant place as any I could have got; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges; and two pageants, one of a King, and another of a Queen, with her Maids of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily; and they tell me the Queen is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon come the King and Queen in a barge under a canopy with 1000 barges and boats I know, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queen. And so they landed at Whitehall Bridge, and the great guns on the other side went off. But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of Whitehall. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another, only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her arms, and dandle it. One thing more; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we feared some hurt, but there was none, but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there come one there booted and spurred that she talked along with. And by-and-by, she being in her hair, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind

off. But it became her mightily, as every thing else, do.

24th. Walked to my uncle Wight's: here I staid supper, and much company there was; among others, Dr. Burnett, Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton. Among other things they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday-street; a great many young people knotting together and crying out "Porridge," often and seditiously in the Church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it.

31st. To Mr. Rawlinson's, and there supped with him. Our discourse of the discontents that are abroad, among, and by reason of the Presbyters. Some were clapped up to-day, and strict watch is kept in the City by the train-bands, and abettors of a plot are taken. God preserve us, for all these things bode very ill.

September 1. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, this being the first day of our meeting there by the Duke's order; but when we come, we found him going out by coach with his Duchess, and he told us he was to go abroad with the Queen to-day (to Durdan's, it seems, to dine with my Lord Barkeley, where I have been very merry when I was a little boy); so we went and staid a little at Mr. Coventry's chamber, and I to my Lord

Sandwich's, who is gone to wait upon the King and Queen to-day.

Sept. 3. Mr. Coventry told us how the Fanatics and Presbyters, that did intend to rise about this time, did choose this day as the most auspicious to them in their endeavours against monarchy: it being fatal twice to the King, and the day of Oliver's death. But, (blessed be God! all is likely to be quiet I hope. Dr. Fairbrother tells me, what I heard confirmed since, that it was fully resolved by the King's new Council that an indulgence should be granted the Presbyters; but upon the Bishop of London's speech (who is now one of the most powerful men in England with the King), their minds were wholly turned. And it is said that my Lord Albemarle did oppose him most; but that I do believe is only an appearance. He told me also that most of the Presbyters now begin to wish they had complied, now they see that no indulgence will be granted them, which they hoped for; and that the Bishop of London hath taken good care that places are supplied with very good and able men, which is the only thing that will keep all quiet.

4th. At noon to the Trinity House, where we treated, very dearly I believe, the officers of the Ordnance; where was Sir W. Compton and the Lieutenant of the Tower. We had much and good music. Sir Wm. Compton I heard talk with great pleasure of the difference between the fleet now and in Queen Elizabeth's days; where in 88, she had but

36 sail great and small, in the world; and ten rounds, of powder was their allowance at that time against the Spaniard.

5th. By water to Woolwich: in my way saw the yacht lately built by our virtuosoes (my Lord Brunkard and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett, also), set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery; and before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half-a-mile (and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home, it got above three miles); which all our people are glad of. To Mr. Bland's, the merchant, by invitation; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave, fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them; viz.—Sir Job Harvy, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir John Jacob, Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison, and Sir John Shaw: very good company. And among other discourse, some was of Sir Jerome Bowes, Ambassador from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia; who, because some of the noblemen there would go up-stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged down-stairs with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up, they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword, they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap and slippers to be sent for; and made

the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down and broke his neck in the sight of our Ambassador, he replied that his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of the necks of her subjects: but said, that, to show what her subjects would do for her he would, and did fling down his gauntlet before the Emperor; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up in defence of the Emperor against his Queen; for which, at this very day the name of Sir Jerome Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr. Martin Noell is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

7th. Home with Mr. Fox and his lady; and there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform: and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men. Meeting Mr. Pierce the surgeon, he took me into Somerset House; and there carried me into the Queen-Mother's presence-chamber, where she was with our own Queen sitting on her left hand (whom I did never see before); and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madam Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts, the King's bastard, a most pretty

spark of about 15 years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her: and, I hear, the Queens both are mighty kind to him. By-and-by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchess; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They staid till it was dark, and then went away; the King and his Queen, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts in one coach, and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The King and Queen were very merry; and he would have made the Queen-Mother believe that his Queen was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queen answered, "You he;" which was the first English word that I ever heard her say; which made the King good sport; and he would have made her say in English, "Confess and be hanged."

8th. With Mr. Coventry to the Duke; who, after he was out of his bed, did send for us in; and, when he was quite ready, took us into his closet, and there told us that he do intend to renew the old custom for the Admirals to have their principal officers to meet them once a-week, to give them an account what they have done that week; which I am glad of: and so the rest did tell His Royal Highness that I could do it best for the time past. And so I produced my short notes, and did give him an account of all that we have of late done; and proposed to him several things for

his commands, which he did give us, and so dismissed us.

12th. This day, by letters from my father, I hear that Captain Ferrers, who is with my Lord in the country, was at Brampton (with Mr. Creed), to see him: and that a day or two ago, being provoked to strike one of my Lord's footmen, the footman drew his sword, and hath almost cut the fingers of one of his hands off; which I am very sorry for; but this is the vanity of being apt to command and strike.

14th. To Whitehall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captain Cooke's new music. This the first day of having viols and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthems; but the music more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queen's presence, and there saw the Queen again as I did last Sunday, and some fine ladies with her; but, my troth, not many. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's.

15th. By water with Sir Wm. Pen to Whitehall; and, with much ado, was fain to walk over the piles through the bridge, while Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes were aground against the bridge, and could not in a great while get through. At Whitehall we hear that the Duke of York is gone a hunting to-day; and so we returned: they going to the Duke of Albe-

marle's, where I left them (after I had observed a very good picture or two there).

18th. At noon Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Maynell's, the great money-man; he, Alderman Backewell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world. And after a great dinner, and much discourse, we took leave. Among other discourses, speaking concerning the great charity used in Catholic countries, Mr. Ashburnham did tell us, that this last year, there being great want of corn in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there were two pearls brought in nobody knew from whom (till the Queen, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it), which were sold for 200,000 crowns.

21st (Lord's day). To the Park. The Queen coming by in her coach, going to her chapel at St. James's (the first time it hath been ready for her, I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her closet is; and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the friars in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine crosses and many other fine things. I heard their music too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. The Queen very devout: but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, though a Protestant, did wait upon the Queen to chapel. By-

and-by, after mass was done, a friar with his cowl did rise up and preach a sermon in Portuguese; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King's chapel, but that was done; and so up to the Queen's presence-chamber, where she and the King was expected to dine: but she staying at St. James's, they were forced to remove the things to the King's presence; and there he dined alone.

23rd. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabarets in France they have written upon the walls in fair letters to be read "Dieu te regarde," as a good lesson to be in every man's mind, and have also in Holland their poor's box; in both which places at the making all contracts and bargains they give so much, which they call God's penny.

24th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined alone with him, and among other things, he do advise me by all means to keep my Lord Sandwich from proceeding too far in the business of Tangier. First, for that he is confident the King will not be able to find money for the building the Mple; and next, for that it is to be done as we propose it by the reducing of the garrison; and then either my Lord must oppose the Duke of York, who will have the Irish regiment under the command of Fitzgerald continued, or else my Lord Peterborough, who is concerned to have the English continued, but he, it seems, is gone back again merely upon my Lord Sandwich's encouragement.

28th (Lord's day). To the French Church at the

Savoy, and there they have the Common Prayer Book read in French, and, which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our Church.

29th. To Mr. Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also and stayed till the Duke was ready. It being Collar-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. To the King's Theatre, where we saw "Midsummer's Night's Dream," which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life.

30th. My condition at present is this; I have long been building, and my house to my great content is now almost done. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alterations in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputation as any man there, and good hold I have, of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain by all fair means. Things are all quiet. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But for ought I see they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected.

. *October 2.* At night hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit (and my Lord Sandwich, who came to town last night, at it), I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place and came into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queen, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finely dressed. Then we saw "The Cardinal," a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that came in with me into the box, were all Frenchmen that could speak no English, but Lord! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them that understood both French and English to make her tell them what the actors said.

5th. I to church; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coat.

6th. To Whitehall with Mr. Coventry, and so to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but my Lord not within, being at a ball this night with the King at my Lady Castlemaine's at next door.

8th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one

person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr. Coventry's goodness and ingenuity. At night by coach to my Lord's again, but he is at Whitehall with the King, before whom the puppet plays I saw this summer in Covent Garden are acted this night.

9th. To the office; and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr. Coventry. To whom I did give thanks for my news yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiet as to my interest in the office, as I could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will with me, both well mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad, and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us; among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn, his name Mr. Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar. He tells me that it is believed the Queen is with child, for that the coaches are ordered to ride very easily through the streets.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again, and so rode to Cambridge; the way so good that I got

very well thither, and set up at the Bear; and there my cousin Angier came to me, and I must needs to his house; and there found Dr. Fairbrother, with a good dinner. But, above all, he telling me that this day there is a Congregation for the choice of some officers in the University, he after dinner gets me a gown, cap, and hood, and carries me to the Schools, where Mr. Pepper, my brother's tutor, and this day chosen Proctor, did appoint a M.A. to lead me into the Regent House, where I sat with them, and did vote by subscribing papers thus: "Ego Samuel Pepys eligo Magistrum Bernardum Skelton (and which was more strange, my old schoolfellow and acquaintance, and who afterwards did take notice of me, and we spoke together), alterum è taxatoribus hujus Academiæ in annum sequentem." The like I did for one Briggs, for the other Taxor, and for other officers, as the Vice-Proctor (Mr. Covell), for Mr. Pepper, and which was the gentleman that did carry me into the Regent House.

11th. To Brampton; where I found my father and two brothers, my mother and sister.

12th. To church; where I saw, among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his lady, with her father, my late Lord St. John, who looks now like a very plain, grave man.

13th. To the Court, and did sue out a recovery, and cut off the entail; and my brothers there, to join therein. And my father and I admitted to all the lands;

he for life, and I for myself and my heirs in reversion. I did with most complete joy of mind go from the Court with my father home, and away, calling in at Hinchingbroke, and taking leave in three words of my Lady, and the young ladies; and so by moonlight to Cambridge, whither we came at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Bear.

15th. Showed Mr. Cooke King's College Chapel, Trinity College, and St. John's College Library; and that being done, to our inn again; where I met Dr. Fairbrother. He told us how the room we were in was the room where Cromwell and his associated officers did begin to plot and act their mischiefs in these counties. Took leave of all, and begun our journey about nine o'clock, the roads being everywhere but bad; but finding our horses in good case, we even made shift to reach London, though both of us very weary. Found all things well, there happening nothing since our going to my discontent in the least degree; which do also please me, that I cannot but bless God for my journey, observing a whole course of success from the beginning to the end of it.

16th. I hear Sir H. Bennet is made Secretary of State in Sir Edward Nicholas's stead; not known whether by consent or not.

17th. To Creed's chamber, and there sat a good while and drank chocolate. Here I am told how things go at Court; that the young men get uppermost, and the old serious Lords are out of favour; that Sir H.

. Bennet, being brought into Sir Edward Nicholas's place, Sir Charles Barkley is made Privy Purse; a most vicious person, and one whom Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, did tell me that he offered his wife £300 per annum to be his mistress. He also told me, that none in Court hath more the King's ear now than Sir Charles Barkley, and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest now is as great as ever: and that Mrs. Haslerigge, the great beauty, is now brought to bed, and lays it to the King or the Duke of York. He tells me also, that my Lord St. Albans is like to be Lord Treasurer; all which things do trouble me much.

19th (Lord's-day). Put on my first new lace-band; and so neat it is, that I am resolved my great expense shall be lace-bands, and it will set off anything else the more. I am sorry to hear that the news of the selling of Dunkirk is taken so generally ill, as I find it is among the merchants; and other things, as removal of officers at Court, good for worse; and all things else made much worse in their report among people than they are. And this night, I know not upon what ground, the gates of the City ordered to be all shut, and double guards everywhere. Indeed I do find everybody's spirit very full of trouble: and the things of the Court and Council very ill taken; so as to be apt to appear in bad colours, if there should ever be a beginning of trouble, which God forbid!

20th. In Sir J. Minnes's coach with him and Sir

W. Batten to Whitehall, where now the Duke is come again to lodge: and to Mr. Coventry's little new chamber there. And by-and-by up to the Duke, who was making himself ready; and there young Killigrew did so commend *The Villain*, a new play made by Tom Porter, and acted only on Saturday at the Duke's house, as if there never had been any such play come upon the stage. The same yesterday was told me by Captain Ferrers, and this morning afterwards by Dr. Clarke, who saw it. After I had done with the Duke, with Commissioner Pett to Mr. Lilly's, the great painter, who came forth to us, but believing that I came to bespeak a picture, he prevented it by telling us that he should not be at leisure these three weeks, which, methinks, is a rare thing. And then to see in what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner; and here, among other pictures, saw the so much desired by me picture of my Lady Castlemaine, which is a most blessed picture, and one that I must have a copy of. From thence I took my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there was the house full of company; but whether it was in overexpecting or what, I know not, but I was never less pleased with a play in my life. Though there was good singing and dancing, yet no fancy in the play.

21st. By water with Mr. Smith to Mr. Lechmore, the counsellor at the Temple, about Field's business; and he tells me plainly that there being a verdict against me, there is no help for it, but it must proceed

.to judgment. It is £30 damage to me for my joining with others in committing Field to prison, as being not Justices of the Peace in the City, though in Middlesex, which troubled me, and I hope the King will make it good to us.

24th. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queen; nor, above all, to such English as she brought over with her, or hath here since, for fear they should tell her how he carries himself to Mrs. Palmer; insomuch that though he has a promise, and is sure of being made her surgeon, he is at a loss what to do in it, whether to take it or no, since the King's mind is so altered and favour to all her dependents, whom she is fain to let go back into Portugal (though she brought them from their friends against their wills with promise of preferment) without doing anything for them. That her own physician did tell him within these three days that the Queen do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as anybody; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad. But I do pray God keep us in peace, for this with other things, do give great discontent to all people.

26th (Lord's day). Put on my new scallop, which is very fine. To church, and there saw the first time

Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit to preach without it. All this day soldiers going up and down the town, there being an alarm, and many Quakers and other clapped up; but I believe without any reason; only they say in Dorsetshire there hath been some rising discovered.

27th. To my Lord Sandwich, who now-a-days calls me into his chamber, and alone did discourse with me about the jealousy that the Court have of people's rising; wherein he do much dislike my Lord Monk's being so eager against a company of poor wretches, dragging them up and down the street; but would have him rather take some of the greatest ringleaders of them, and punish them; whereas this do but tell the world the King's fears and doubts. For Dunkirk, he wonders any wise people should be so troubled thereat, and scorns all their talk against it, for that he sees it was not Dunkirk, but the other places, that did and would annoy us, though we had that, as much as if we had it not. He also took notice of the new Ministers of State, Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley, their bringing in, and the high game that my Lady Castlemaine plays at Court. Afterwards he told me of poor Mr. Spong, that being with other people examined before the King and Council (they being laid up as suspected persons; and it seems Spong is so far thought guilty as that they intend to pitch upon him

to put to the rack or some other torture), he do take knowledge of my Lord Sandwich, and said that he was well known to Mr. Pepys. But my Lord knows, and I told him, that it was only in matter of music and pipes, but that I thought him to be a very innocent fellow; and, indeed, I am very sorry for him. After my Lord and I had done in private we went out, and with Captain Cuttance and Bunn did look over their draught of a bridge for Tangier, which will be brought by my desire to our office by them to-morrow. To Westminster Hall, and there walked long with Creed. He showed me our commission, wherein the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Peterborough, Lord Sandwich, Sir G. Carteret, Sir William Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir R. Ford, Sir William Rider, Mr. Cholmley, Mr. Povy, myself, and Captain Cuttance, in this order are joined for the carrying on the service of Tangier. He told me what great faction there is at Court, and, above all, what is whispered, that young Crofts is lawful son to the King, the King being married to his mother. How true this is God knows, but I believe the Duke of York will not be fooled in this of three crowns. Thence to Whitehall, and walked long in the gardens, till (as they are commanded to all strange persons) one came to tell us, we not being known, and being observed to walk there four or five hours (which was not true, unless they count my walking there in the morning), he was commanded to ask who we were,

which, being told, he excused his question and was satisfied. These things speak great fear and jealousies.

29th. Sir G. Carteret, who had been at the examining most of the late people that are clapped up, do say that he do not think that there hath been any great plotting among them, though they have a good will to it; and their condition is so poor, and silly, and low, that they do not fear them at all.

30th. To my Lord Sandwich, who was up in his chamber and all alone, and did acquaint me with his business, which was that our old acquaintance, Mr. Wade (in Axe Yard) hath discovered to him £7,000 hid in the Tower, of which he was to have two for discovery, my Lord himself two, and the King the other three, when it was found: and that the King's warrant runs for me on my Lord's part, and one Mr. Lee for Sir Harry Bennet to demand leave of the Lieutenant of the Tower for to make search. After he had told me the whole business I took leave, and at noon comes Mr. Wade with my Lord's letter. So we consulted for me to go first to Sir H. Bennet, who is now with many of the Privy Councillors at the Tower, examining of their late prisoners, to advise with him when to begin. So I went, and the guard at the Tower Gate, making me leave my sword at the gate, I was forced to stay so long in the ale-house close by, till my boy run home for my cloak, that my Lord Mayor that now is, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, with all his company, was gone

with their coaches to his house in Minchin Lane. So my cloak being come I walked thither, and there, by Sir G. Carteret's means, did presently speak with Sir H. Bennet, who did give me the King's warrant for the paying of £2,000 to my Lord, and other two to the discoverers. After a little discourse dinner came in, and I dined with them. There was my Lord Mayor, my Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Secretary Morris, to whom Sir H. Bennet would give the upper hand, Sir Wm. Compton, Sir G. Carteret, and myself, and some other company, and a brave dinner. After dinner Sir H. Bennet did call aside the Lord Mayor and me, and did break the business to him, who did not, nor durst appear the least averse to it, but did promise all assistance forthwith to set upon it. So Mr. Lee and I to our office, and there walked till Mr. Wade and one Evett his guide did come, and W. Griffin, and a porter with his pick-axes, &c.: and so they walked along with us to the Tower, and Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Mayor did give us full power to fall to work. So our guide demands a candle, and down into the cellars he goes, inquiring whether they were the same that Baxter always had. He went into several little cellars, and then went out-a-doors to view, and to the Cole Harbour, but none did answer so well to the marks which was given him to find it by as one arched vault, where, after a great deal of counsel whether to set upon it now, or delay for better and more full advice, to digging we went till almost eight o'clock at

night, but could find nothing. But, however, our guides did not at all seem discouraged, for that they being confident that the money is there they look for, but having never been in the cellars, they could not be positive to the place, and therefore will inform themselves more fully now they have been there, of the party that do advise them. So locking the door after us, we left here to-night, and up to the Deputy Governor (My Lord Mayor and Sir H. Bennet, with the rest of the company being gone an hour before), and he do undertake to keep the key of the cellars, that none shall go down without his privity. But, Lord! to see what a young simple fantastic coxcomb is made Deputy Governor would make me mad; and how he called out for his night-gown of silk, only to make a show to us: and yet for half an hour I did not think he was the Deputy Governor, and so spoke not to him about the business, but waited for another man; but at last I broke our business to him, and he promising his care, we parted. And Mr. Lee and I by coach to Whitehall, where I did give my Lord Sandwich a full account of our proceedings, and some encouragement to hope for something hereafter. This morning, walking with Mr. Coventry in the garden, he did tell me how Sir G. Carteret had carried the business of the Victuallers' money to be paid by himself, contrary to old practice, at which he is angry I perceive, but I believe means no hurt, but that things may be done as they ought. He expects Sir George

should not bespatter him privately, in revenge, not openly. Against which he prepares to bedaub him, and swears he will do it from the beginning, from Jersey to this day. And as to his own taking of too large fees or rewards for places that he had sold, he will prove that he was directed to it by Sir George himself among others. And yet he did not deny Sir G. Carteret his due, in saying that he is a man that do take the most pains, and gives himself the most to do business of any about the Court, without any desire of pleasure or divertisements, which is very true. But which pleased me mightily, he said in these words, that he was resolved, whatever it cost him, to make an experiment, and see whether it was possible for a man to keep himself up in Court by dealing plainly and walking uprightly. In the doing whereof, if his ground do slip from under him, he will be contented, but he is resolved to try, and never to baulk taking notice of anything that is to the King's prejudice, let it fall where it will, which is a most brave resolution. He was very free with me, and by my troth I do see more real worth in him than in most men that I do know. I would not forget two passages of Sir J. Minnes's at yesterday's dinner. The one, that to the question how it comes to pass that there are no boars seen in London, but many sows and pigs, it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights. The other, Thos. Killigrew's way of getting to see plays when he was a boy. He would go to the Red

Bull, and when the man cried to the boys, "Who will go and be a devil, and he shall see the play for nothing?" then would he go in, and be a devil upon the stage, and so get to see plays.

31st. I thank God I have no crosses, but only much business to trouble my mind with. In all other things as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me, and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God, and the King, and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vows against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business, which God continue! Public matters are full of discontent, what with the sale of Dunkirk, and my Lady Castlemaine and her faction at Court; though I know not what they would have more than to debauch the King, whom God preserve from it! And then great plots are talked to be discovered, and all the prisons in town full of ordinary people, taken from their meeting-places last Sunday. But for certain some plots there hath been, though not brought to a head.

November 1. To my office, to meet Mr. Lee again, from Sir H. Bennet. And he and I, with Wade, and his intelligencer and labourers, to the Tower cellars, to make one trial more; where we stayed two or three hours and dug a great deal all under the arches, as it was now most confidently directed, and so seriously,

and upon pretended good grounds, that I myself did truly expect to speed; but we missed of all, and so we went away the second time like fools. And to our office; and I by appointment to the Dolphin Tavern, to meet Wade and the other, Capt. Evett, who now do tell me plainly that he that do put him upon this is one that had it from Barkestead's own mouth, and was advised with by him, just before the King's coming in, how to get it out, and had all the signs told him how and where it lay, and had always been the great confident of Barkestead, even to the trusting him with his life and all he had. So that he did much convince me that there is good ground for what he goes about. But I fear it may be that he did find some conveyance of it away, without the help of this man, before he died. But he is resolved to go to the party once more, and then to determine what we shall do further.

3rd. To Whitehall, to the Duke's, but found him gone a-hunting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, from whom I receive every day more and more signs of his confidence and esteem of me. Here I met with Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord being still in town, and sometimes seeing of her, it will be laid to him. He tells me also how the Duke of York is smitten in love with my Lady Chesterfield (a virtuous lady, daughter to my Lord of Ormond), and so much that the Duchess of York hath

complained to the King and her father about it, and my Lady Chesterfield is gone into the country for it. At all which I am sorry; but it is the effect of idleness, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon. At night to my office, and did business; and there come to me Mr. Wade and Evett, who have been again with their prime intelligencer, a woman, I perceive; and though we have missed twice, yet they bring such an account of the probability of the truth of the thing, though we are not certain of the place, that we shall set upon it once more, and I am willing and hopeful in it. So we resolved to set upon it again on Wednesday morning; and the woman herself will be there in a disguise, and confirm us in the place.

4th. This morning we had news by letters that Sir Richard Stayner is dead at sea in the *Mary*, which is now come into Portsmouth from Lisbon; which we are sorry for, he being a very stout seaman.

7th. Being by appointment called upon by Mr. Lee, he and I to the Tower, to make our third attempt upon the cellar. And now privately the woman, Barkestead's great confident, is brought, who do positively say that this is the place which he did say the money was hid in, and where he and she did put up the £7,000 in butter firkins; and the very day that he went out of England did say that neither he nor his would be the better for that money, and therefore wishing that she and hers might. And so left us, and we full of hope did resolve to dig all over the cellar,

which by seven o'clock at night we performed. At noon we sent for a dinner, and upon the head of a barrel dined very merrily, and to work again. But at last we saw we were mistaken; and after digging the cellar quite through, and removing the barrels from one side to the other, we were forced to pay our porters, and give over our expectations, though I do believe there must be money hid somewhere by him, or else he did delude this woman in hopes to oblige her to further serving him, which I am apt to believe.

9th (Lord's day). Walked to my brother's, where my wife is, calling at many churches, and then to the Temple, hearing a bit there too, and observing that in the streets and churches the Sunday is kept in appearance as well as I have known it at any time.

10th. A little to the office, and so with Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and myself by coach to Whitehall, to the Duke, who, after he was ready, did take us into his closet. Thither come my Lord General Monk, and did privately talk with the Duke about having the life-guards pass through the City to-day only for show and to fright people, for I perceive there are great fears abroad; for all which I am troubled and full of doubt that things will not go well. He being gone, we fell to business of the navy. Among other things, how to pay off this fleet that is now come from Portugal; the King of Portugal sending them home, he having no more use for them, which we wonder at, that his

condition should be so soon altered. And our landmen, also are coming back, being almost starved in that poor country. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him and his brother, I know not his name. Where very good discourse. Among others, of France's intention to make a patriarch of his own, independent from the Pope, by which he will be able to cope with the Spaniard in all councils, which hitherto he has never done. My Lord Crewe told us how he heard my Lord of Holland say, that being Ambassador about the match with the Queen-Mother that now is, the King of France insisted upon a dispensation from the Pope, which my Lord Holland making a question of, as he was commanded to yield to nothing to the prejudice of our religion, says the King of France, "You need not fear that, for if the Pope will not dispense with the match, my Bishop of Paris shall." By-and-by come in the great Mr. Swinfen, the Parliament-man, who, among other discourse of the rise and fall of families, told us of Bishop Bridgeman (father of Sir Orlando), who lately hath bought a seat anciently of the Levers, and then the Ashtons; and so he hath in his great hall window (having repaired and beautified the house) caused four great places to be left for coats of arms. In one he hath put the Levers, with this motto, "Olim." In another the Ashtons, with this, "Heri." In the next his own, with this, "Hodie." In the fourth nothing but this motto, "Cras nescio cujus." The town, I hear, is full of discontents, and all know of the King's

new bastard by Mrs. Haslerigge, and as far as I can hear will never be contented with Episcopacy, they are so cruelly set for Presbytery, and the Bishops carry themselves so high that they are never likely to gain anything upon them. To the Dolphin Tavern near home, by appointment, and there met with Wade and Evett, and have resolved to make a new attempt upon another discovery, in which God give us better fortune than in the other, but I have great confidence that there is no cheat in these people, but that they go upon good grounds, though they have been mistaken in the place of the first.

13th. To my office, and there this afternoon we had our first meeting upon our commission of inspecting the Chest. Sir Francis Clerke, Mr. Heath, Attorney of the Duchy, Mr. Prinn, Sir W. Rider, Captain Cooke, and myself. Our first work was to read over the Institution, which is a decree in Chancery in the year 1617, upon an inquisition made at Rochester about that time into the revenues of the Chest, which had then, from the year 1588 or 1590, by the advice of the Lord High Admiral and principal officers then being, by consent of the seamen, been settled, paying sixpence per month, according to their wages then, which was then but 10s., which is now 24s.

17th. To the Duke's to-day, but he is gone a-hunting. At Whitehall by appointment, Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpit, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his

son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies ; and "The Scornful Lady," well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock, and it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home.

18th. Late at my office, drawing up a letter to my Lord Treasurer, which we have been long about.

20th. After dinner to the Temple, to Mr. Thurland ; and thence to my Lord Chief Baron, Sir Edward Hale's, and take Mr. Thurland to his chamber, where he told us that Field will have the better of us ; and that we must study to make up the business as well as we can, which do much vex and trouble us ; but I am glad the Duke is concerned in it.

21st. This day come the King's pleasure-boats from Calais, with the Dunkirk money, being 400,000 pistolles.

22nd. This day Mr. Moore told me that for certain the Queen-Mother is married to my Lord St. Albans, and he is like to be made Lord Treasurer. News that Sir J. Lawson hath made up a peace now with Tunis and Tripoli, as well as Argiers, by which he will come home very highly honoured.

23rd. I hear to-day old rich Audley is lately dead, and left a very great estate, and made a great many poor families rich, not all to one. Among others, one Davis, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, and since a bookseller in Paul's Church Yard ; and it seems do forgive one man £6,000 which he had wronged him of, but names not his name ; but it is well known to be the

scrivener in Fleet Street, at whose house he lodged. There is also this week dead a poulterer, in Gracious Street, which was thought rich, but not so rich, that hath left £800 per annum, taken in other men's names, and 400,000 Jacobs in gold.

24th. Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward Whitehall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirk money. So we by coach to them, and there went up and down all the magazines with them; but methought it was but poor discourse and frothy that the King's companions (young Killigrew among the rest) had with him. We saw none of the money, but Mr. Slingsby did show the King, and I did see, the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat and like the King. Thence the King to Woolwich, though a very cold day; and the Duke to Whitehall, commanding us to come after him; and in his closet, my Lord Sandwich being there, did discourse with us about getting some of this money to pay off the Fleets, and other matters.

25th. Great talk among people how some of the fanatics do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day. Against which, whenever it shall be, good God fit us all.

27th. At my waking, I found the tops of the houses covered with snow, which is a rare sight, which I have not seen these three years. To the office, where we

sat till noon; when we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill, to see the coming by of the Russian Ambassador, for whose reception all the City trained-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's lifeguards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats and gold chains (which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in), but they stayed so long that we went down again to dinner. And after I had dined I walked to the Conduit in the Quarrefowr, at the end of Gracious Street and Cornhill; and there (the spouts thereof running very near me upon all the people that were under it) I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawks upon their fists to present to the King. But Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen, that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at everything that looks strange.

28th. A very hard frost; which is news to us after having none almost these three years. By ten o'clock to Ironmongers' Hall, to the funeral of Sir Richard Stayner. Here we were, all the officers of the Navy, and my Lord Sandwich, who did discourse with us about the fishery, telling us of his Majesty's resolution to give £200 to every man that will set out a Busse [herring boat]; and advising about the effects of this encouragement which will be a very great matter certainly. Here we had good rings.

29th. To the office; and this moruing come Sir

G. Carteret to us (being the first time since his coming from France): he tells us, that the silver which is received from Dunkirk did weigh 120,000 weight. To my Lord's, where my Lord and Mr. Coventry, Sir Wm. Darcy, one Mr. Parham (a very knowing and well-spoken man in this business), with several others, did meet about stating the business of the fishery, and the manner of the King's giving of this £200 to every man that shall set out a new-made English Busse by the middle of June next. In which business we had many fine, pretty discourses; and I did here see the great pleasure to be had in discoursing of public matters with men that are particularly acquainted with this or that business. Having come to some issue, wherein a motion of mine was well received, about sending these invitations from the King to all the fishing-ports in general, with limiting so many Busses to this, and that port, before we know the readiness of subscribers, we parted.

30th. Public matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments: but that which troubles most, is the clergy, which will never content the City, which is not to be reconciled to bishops: but more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirk newly sold, and the money brought over: of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy: which by Sir J. Lawson's having despatched the business in the Straits, by making peace with Argier, Tunis, and Tripoli (and so his fleet

will also shortly come home), will now every day grow less, and so the King's charge be abated; which God send!

December 1. To my Lord Sandwich's, to Mr. Moore; and then over the Park (where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skates, which is a very pretty art), to Mr. Coventry's chamber to St. James's, where we all met to a venison pasty, Major Norwood being with us, whom they did play upon for his surrendering of Dunkirk. Here we stayed till three or four o'clock; and so to the Council Chamber, where there met the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, my Lord Sandwich, Sir Wm. Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Sir R. Ford, Sir W. Rider, myself, and Captain Cuttance, as Commissioners for Tangier. And after our Commission was read by Mr. Creed, who I perceive is to be our Secretary, we did fall to discourse of matters: as, first, the supplying them forthwith with victuals; then reducing it to make way for the money, which upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Mole; and so to other matters, ordered as against next meeting.

3rd. To Deptford, and so by water with Mr. Pett home again, all the way reading his Chest accounts, in which I did see things which did not please me; as his allowing himself £300 for one year's looking to the business of the Chest, and £150 per annum for the rest of the years. But I found no fault to him himself, but

shall when they come to be read at the Board. We walked to the Temple, in our way seeing one of the Russian Ambassador's coaches go along, with his footmen not in livery, but their country habits; one of one colour and another of another which was very strange.

5th. I walked towards Guildhall, being summōned by the Commisioners for the Lieutenancy; but they sat not this morning. So meeting in my way W. Swan, I took him to a house thereabouts, he telling me much of his fanatic stories as if he were a great zealot, when I know him to be a very rogue. But I do it for discourse, and to see how things stand with him and his party; whō I perceive have great expectation that God will not bless the Court nor Church, as it is now settled, but they must be purified. The worst news he tells me, is that Mr. Chetwind is dead, my old and most ingenious acquaintance. To the Duke's, where the Committee for Tangier met: and here we sat down all with him at a table, and had much discourse about the business.

13th. We sat, Mr. Coventry and I (Sir G. Carteret being gone), and among other things, Field and Strip did come, and received the £41 given him by the judgment against me and Harry Kem; and we did also sign bonds in £500 to stand to the award of Mr. Porter and Smith for the rest: which, however, I did not sign to till I got Mr. Coventry to go up with me to Sir W. Pen; and he did promise me before him to

bear his share in what should be awarded, and both concluded that Sir W. Batten would do no less.

15th. To the Duke, and followed him into the Park, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his skates, which I did not like, but he slides very well. So back to his closet, whither my Lord Sandwich comes, and there Mr. Coventry, and we three had long discourse together about the matters of the Navy: and, indeed, I find myself more and more obliged to Mr. Coventry, who studies to do me all the right he can in everything to the Duke. Thence walked a good while up and down the galleries; and among others, met with Dr. Clarke, who in discourse tells me, that Sir Charles Barkeley's greatness is only his being pimp to the King, and to my Lady Castlemaine. And yet for all this, that the King is very kind to the Queen; who, he says, is one of the best women in the world. Strange how the King is bewitched to this pretty Castlemaine. I walked up and down the galleries, spending my time upon the pictures, till the Duke and the Committee for Tangier met (the Duke not staying with us), where the only matter was to discourse with my Lord Rutherford, who is this day made Governor of Tangier, for I know not what reasons; and my Lord of Peterborough to be called home: which, though it is said it is done with kindness, I am sorry to see a Catholic Governor sent to command there, where all the rest of the officers almost are such already. But God knows what the reason is! and all may see how

slippery places all courtiers stand in. Thence home, in my way calling upon Sir John Berkenheade, to speak about my assessment of £42 to the loyal sufferers, which, I perceive, I cannot help; but he tells me I have been abused by Sir R. Ford. Thence called at the Major-General's, Sir R. Browne, about my being assessed arms to the militia; but he was abroad.

16th. To dinner, thinking to have had Mr. Coventry, but he could not go with me; and so I took Captain Murford. Of whom I do hear what the world says of me; that all do conclude Mr. Coventry and Pett and me to be of a knot; and that we do now carry all things before us: and much more in particular of me, and my studiousness, &c., to my great content. To Whitehall to Secretary Bennet's, and agreed with Mr. Lee to set upon our new adventure at the Tower tomorrow.

17th. This morning come Mr. Lee, Wade, and Evett, intending to have gone upon our new design to the Tower; but it raining, and the work being to be done in open garden, we put it off to Friday next.

19th. Up and by appointment with Mr. Lee, Wade, Evett, and workmen to the Tower, and with the Lieutenant's leave set them to work in the garden, in the corner against the main-guard, a most unlikely place. It being cold, Mr. Lee and I did sit all the day till three o'clock by the fire in the Governor's house; I reading a play of Fletcher's, being "A Wife for a Month," wherein no great wit or language. We went

to them at work, and having wrought below the bottom of the foundation of the wall, I bid them give over and so all our hopes ended.

20th. To the office, and thence with Mr. Coventry in his coach to St. James's, with great content and pride to see him treat me so friendly; and dined with him, and so to Whitehall together; where we met upon the Tangier Commission, and discoursed many things thereon: but little will be done before my Lord Rutherford comes there, as to the fortification and Mole. That done, my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while in the matted gallery, he acquainting me with his late inquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about £3,000 to him, and the next about as much: so that at this day, if he were paid, it would be worth about £7,000 to him.

21st. To Whitehall, and there to chapel, and from thence upstairs, and up and down the house and galleries on the King's and Queen's side, and so through the garden to my Lord's lodgings, where there was Mr. Gibbons, Madge, Mallard, and Pagett; and by-and-by comes in my Lord Sandwich, and so we had great store of good music. By-and-by comes in my simple Lord Chandois, who (my Lord Sandwich being gone out to Court) began to sing psalms, but so dully that I was weary of it.

22nd. I walked to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I

found him gone out into the Park with the Duke, so I shifted myself into a riding-habit, and followed him through Whitehall, and in the Park Mr. Coventry's people having a horse ready for me (so fine a one that I was almost afraid to get upon him, but I did, and found myself more feared than hurt), and followed the Duke, who with some of his people (among others Mr. Coventry) was riding out. And with them to Hyde Park: where Mr. Coventry asking leave of the Duke, he bids us go to Woolwich. So he and I to the water-side, and our horses coming by the ferry, we by oars over to Lambeth, and from thence, with brave discourse by the way, rode to Woolwich, where we put in practice my new way of the Call-book, which will be of great use.

23rd. Dr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine's interest at Court increases, and is more and greater than the Queen's; that she hath brought in Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; but that the Queen is a most good lady, and takes all with the greatest meekness that may be. He tells me, also, that Mr. Edward Montagu is quite broke at Court with his repute and purse; and that he lately was engaged in a quarrel against my Lord Chesterfield; but that the King did cause it to be taken up. He tells me, too, that the King is much concerned in the Chancellor's sickness, and that the Chancellor is as great, he thinks, as ever with the King. He also tells me what the world says of me, "that Mr. Coventry and I

do all the business of the office almost : " at which I am highly proud.

24th. To my bookseller's, and paid at another shop £4 10s. for Stephens's Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae, given to Paul's School. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined alone with him. I understand there are great factions at Court, and something he said that did imply a difference like to be between the King and the Duke, in case the Queen should not be with child. I understand, about this bastard. He says, also, that some great man will be aimed at when Parliament comes to sit again : I understand, the Chancellor ; and that there is a bill will be brought in, that none that have been in arms for the Parliament shall be capable of office ; and that the Court are weary of my Lord Albemarle and Chamberlin. He wishes that my Lord Sandwich had some good occasion to be abroad this summer which is coming on, and that my Lord Hinchingbroke were well married, and Sydney had some place at Court. He pities the poor ministers that are put out, to whom, he says, the King is beholden for his coming in, and that if any such thing had been foreseen he had never come in. At my bookseller's in Paul's Churchyard, who takes it ill my letter last night to Mr. Povy, wherein I accuse him of the neglect of the Tangier boats, in which I must confess I did not do altogether like a friend ; but however it was truth and I must own it to be so, though I fall wholly out with him for it.

25th (Christmas Day). Had a pleasant walk to Whitehall, where I intended to have received the communion with the family, but I came a little too late. So I walked up into the house and spent my time looking over pictures, particularly the ships in King Henry the Eighth's Voyage to Boulogne; marking the great difference between those built then and now. By-and-by down to the chapel again, where Bishop Morley preached upon the song of the Angels, "Glory to God on high, on earth peace, and good will towards men." Methought he made but a poor sermon, but long, and reprehending the common jollity of the Court for the true joy that shall and ought to be on these days. Particularised concerning their excess in plays and gaming, saying that he whose office it is to keep the gamesters in order and within bounds, serves but for a second rather in a duel, meaning the groom-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, that they all laugh in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses. He did much press us to joy in these public days of joy, and to hospitality. But one that stood by whispered in my ear that the Bishop do not spend one groat to the poor himself. The sermon done, a good anthem followed with viols, and the King came down to receive the Sacrament.

26th. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby; and we falling into discourse of a new book of drol-

lery in use, called Hudibras, I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2s. 6d. But when I come to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars, that I am ashamed of it; and by-and-by meeting at Mr Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d.

27th. With my wife to the Duke's Theatre, and saw the second part of "Rhodes," done with the new *Roxalana*; which do it rather better in all respects for person, voice, and judgment, than the first *Roxalana*.

29th. To Westminster Hall, where I stayed reading at Mrs. Mitchell's shop. She told me what I heard not of before, the strange burning of Mr. De Laun, a merchant's house in Lothbury, and his lady (Sir Thomas Allen's daughter) and her whole family; not one thing, dog nor cat, escaping; nor any of the neighbours almost hearing of it till the house was quite down and burnt. How this should come to pass, God knows, but a most strange thing it is! Hither come Jack Spicer, and talked of Exchequer matters, and how the Lord Treasurer hath now ordered all moneys to be brought into the Exchequer, and hath settled the King's revenues, and given to every general expense proper assignments; to the Navy £200,000 and odd. He also told me of the great, vast trade of the goldsmiths in supplying the King with money at dear rates. Thence to Whitehall, and got up to the top galleries in the Banqueting House to see the audience of the Russian Ambassador; which took place after our

long waiting and fear of the falling of the gallery (it being so full and part of it being parted from the rest, for nobody to come up merely from the weakness thereof), and very handsome it was. After they had come in, I went down and got through the crowd almost as high as the King and the Ambassadors, where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawks, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawks upon his fist, having a glove on wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Ambassadors was in the richest suit for pearl and tissue that ever I did see, or shall, I believe. After they and all the company had kissed the King's hand, then the three Ambassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queen's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Ambassador did carry up his master's letters in state before him on high; and as soon as he had delivered them, he did fall down to the ground and lay there a great while. After all was done, the company broke up; and I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queens, and the Duke of Monmouth with his little mistress, which is very little, and like my brother-in-law's wife.

30th. Visited Mrs. Ferrer, and stayed talking with her a good while, there being a little, proud, ugly talking lady there, that was much crying up the Queen-Mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queen's; there being before her no allowance of

laughing and the mirth that is at the other's; and indeed it is observed that the greatest Court now-a-days is there. Thence to Whitehall, where I carried my wife to see the queen in her presence chamber; and the maids of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns.

31st. Mr. Povy and I to Whitehall; he taking me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchess at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By-and-by comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones: and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchess of York; and the Duke, the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth, my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords other ladies: and they danced the Brantle. After that the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies: very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances; the King leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, "Cuckolds all awry," the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vicke's, were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all

the ladies in the room, and the Queen herself, stand up : and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having stayed here as long as I thought fit to my infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went home, leaving them dancing.

Thus ends this year with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus : we are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's lodgings at Whitehall. Our home at the Navy-office, which is and hath a pretty while been in good condition, finished and made very convenient. By my last year's diligence in my office, blessed be God ! I am come to a good degree of knowledge therein ; and am acknowledged so by all the world, even the Duke himself, to whom I have a good access : and by that, and by my being Commissioner for Tangier, he takes much notice of me ; and I doubt not but, by the continuance of the same endeavours, I shall in a little time come to be a man much taken notice of in the world, especially being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Coventry. Public matters stand thus : The King is bringing, as is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expense. In the meantime, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do ; at least to be seen to all the world to do so. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being public, every day, to his great reproach ; and his favouring of none at Court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure,

as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Barkeley; which, good God put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it! The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at Court and so dandled by the King, that some doubt that if the King should have no child by the Queen (which there is yet no appearance of), whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent! My Lord Chancellor is threatened by people to be questioned, the next sitting of the Parliament, by some spirits that do not love to see him so great: but certainly he is a good servant to the King. The Queen-Mother is said to keep too great a Court now; and her being married to my Lord St. Alban's is commonly talked of; and that they had a daughter between them in France, how true, God knows. The Bishops are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity; and the Presbyters seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other fanatics would take effect; there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publicly tried at the Old Bailey and hanged. My Lord Sandwich is still in good esteem, and now keeping his Christmas in the country; and I in good esteem, I think, as any man can be with him. In fine, for the good condition of myself, wife, family, and estate, in the great degree

that it is, and for the public state of the nation, so quiet as it is, the Lord God be praised!

1662-3. *January 1.* Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine; and most often stays till the morning with her and goes home through the garden all alone privately, and that so as the very sentries take notice of it and speak of it. She tells me that about a month ago, she quickened at my Lord Gerard's at dinner, and cried out that she was undone; and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her.

5th. To the Duke, who himself told me that Sir J. Lawson was come home to Portsmouth from the the Straits with great renown among all men, and, I perceive, mightily esteemed at Court by all. The Duke did not stay long in his chamber; but to the King's chamber, whither by-and-by the Russian Ambassadors come; who it seems have a custom that they will not come to have any treaty with our or any King's Commissioners, but they will themselves see at the time the face of the King himself, be it forty days one after another; and so they did to-day only go in and see the King; and so out again to the council-chamber. To the Duke's closet, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Mr. Coventry, and myself attended him about the business of the Navy; and after much discourse and pleasant talk he went away. To the Cock-pit, where we saw, "Claracilla," a poor play done by

the King's house; but neither the King nor Queen were there, but only the Duke and Duchess. Elborough (my old schoolfellow at Paul's) do tell me, and so do others, that Dr. Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was se'nnight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place; otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister: but the Bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called "The Adventures of Five Hours," at the Duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke, I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower forms, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall.

12th. I found my Lord within, and he and I went out through the garden toward the Duke's chamber, to sit upon the Tangier matters; but a lady called to my Lord out of my Lady Castlemaine's lodgings, telling him that the King was there and would speak with him. My Lord could not tell me what to say at the Committee to excuse his absence, but that he was with the King; nor would suffer me to go into the privy garden (which is now a through-passage and common), but bid me to go through some other way, which I did; so that I

- see he is a servant of the King's pleasures too, as well as business.

19th. Singled out Mr. Coventry into the matted gallery, and there I told him the complaints I meet every day about our Treasurer's or his people's paying no money, but at the goldsmith's shops, where they are forced to pay fifteen or sometimes twenty per cent. for their money, which is a most horrid shame, and that which must not be suffered. Nor is it likely that the Treasurer (at least his people) will suffer Maynell the goldsmith to go away with £10,000 per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money.

To my Lord Chancellor's, where the King was to meet my Lord Treasurer and many great men, to settle the revenue of Tangier. I stayed talking awhile there, but the King not coming, I walked to my brother's. This day, by Dr. Clarke I was told the occasion of my Lord Chesterfield's going and taking his lady (my Lord Ormond's daughter) from Court. It seems he not only hath been long jealous of the Duke of York, but did find them two talking together, though there were others in the room, and the lady by all opinions a most good, virtuous woman. He the next day (of which the Duke was warned by somebody that saw the passion my Lord Chesterfield was in the night before), went and told the Duke how much he did apprehend himself wronged, in his picking out his lady of the whole Court to be the subject of his dishonour;

which the Duke did answer with great calmness, not seeming to understand the reason of complaint, and that was all that passed: but my Lord did presently pack his lady into the country in Derbyshire, near the Peak; which is become a proverb at Court, to send a man's wife to the Peak when she vexes him.

23rd. Mr. Grant and I to a coffee-house, where Sir J. Cutler was; and he did fully make out that the trade of England is as great as ever it was, only in more hands; and that of all trades there is a greater number than ever there was, by reason of men's taking more 'prentices. His discourse was well worth hearing. I bought "Audley's Way to be Rich," a serious pamphlet, and some good things worth my minding.

25th. I understand the King of France is upon consulting his divines upon the old question, What the power of the Pope is? and do intend to make war against him, unless he do right him for the wrong his Ambassador received; and banish the Cardinal Imperial, by which I understand is not meant the Cardinal belonging or chosen by the Emperor, but the name of his family is Imperiali. To my lord, and I stayed talking with him an hour alone in his chamber, about sundry public and private matters. Among others he wonders what the project should be of the Duke's going down to Portsmouth again now with his lady, at this time of the year: it being no way, we think, to increase his popularity, which is not great; nor yet safe to do it, for that reason if it would have any such effect. Capt.

Ferrers tells me of my Lady Castlemaine and Sir Charles Barkeley being the great favourites at Court, and growing every day more and more so; and that upon a late dispute between my Lord Chesterfield, that is the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her Master of the Horse, who should have the precedence in taking the Queen's upper hand abroad out of the house, which Mr. Montagu challenges, it was given to my Lord Chesterfield. So that I perceive he goes down the wind in honour as well as every thing else, every day.

26th. I met with Monsieur Raby who is lately come from France. I had a great deal of very good discourse with him, concerning the difference between the French and the Pope, and the occasion, which he told me very particularly, and to my great content; and of most of the chief affairs of France, which I did inquire: and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself; and that it is true he hath a mistress, Mademoiselle La Vallière, one of the Princess Henriette's women, that he courts for his pleasure every other day, but not so as to make him neglect his public affairs. He tells me how the King do carry himself nobly to the relations of the dead Cardinal, and will not suffer one pasquil to come forth against him; and that he acts by what directions he received from him before his death.

30th. My manuscript is brought home handsomely bound, to my full content; and now I think I have a

better collection in reference to the Navy, and shall have by the time I have filled it, than any of my predecessors.

February 1. This day Creed and I walking in Whitehall, did see the King coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's, which is a poor thing for a Prince to do; and so I expressed my sense of it to Creed in terms which I should not have done, but that I believe he is trusty in that point.

2nd. With Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to the Duke; and after discourse as usual with him in his closet, I went to my Lord's: the King and the Duke being gone to chapel, it being a collar day, Candlemas Day; where I stayed with him until towards noon, there being Jonas Moore talking about some mathematical businesses. With Mr. Coventry down to his chamber, where he did tell me how he do make himself an interest by doing business truly and justly, though he thwarts others greater than himself, not striving to make himself friends by addresses; and by this he thinks and observes he do live as contentedly (now he finds himself secured from fear of want), and, take one time with another, as void of fears or cares, or more, than they that (as his own terms were) have quicker pleasures and sharper agonies than he.

4th. To Paul's School, it being opposition-day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as schoolboys' used to be, of the seven liberal sciences; but I think not so good as ours were in our time.

Thence to Bow Church, to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits, and his proctors about him in their habits, and their pleadings all in Latin. Here I was sworn to give a true answer to my uncle's libels. And back again to Paul's School, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Dr. Wilkins and Outram were examiners. *

6th. To Lincoln's Inn Fields, and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down, and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought Hudibras again. it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit, for which I am resolved once more to read him and see whether I can find it or no.

7th. To Whitehall to chapel, where there preached little Dr. Duport, of Cambridge, upon Josiah's words: "But I and my house we will serve the Lord." Thence with Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary. After dinner Sir Thomas Willis and another stranger, and Creed, and I fell a talking, they of the errors and corruption of the Navy, and great expense thereof, not knowing who I was, which at last I did undertake to confute and disabuse them, and they took it very well, and I hope it was to good purpose they being Parliament men. Creed and I, and Captain Ferrers to the Park, and there walked finely, seeing people slide, we talking all the while, and Captain Ferrers telling me

among other Court passages, how about a month ago, at a ball at Court, a child was dropped by one of the ladies in dancing, but nobody knew who, it being taken up by somebody in their handkerchief. The next morning all the Ladies of Honour appeared early at Court for their vindication, so that nobody could tell whose this mischance should be. But it seems Mrs. Wells fell sick that afternoon, and hath disappeared ever since, so that it is concluded it was her. The little Duke of Monmouth, it seems, is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and so do follow Prince Rupert now, before the Duke of Buckingham or any else.

13th. To my office, where late upon business, Mr. Bland sitting with me, talking of my Lord Windsor's being come home from Jamaica unlooked for, which makes us think that these young Lords are not fit to do any service abroad, though it is said that he could not have his health there, but hath razed a fort of the King of Spain upon Cuba, which is considerable, or said to be so, for his honour.

16th. To Westminster Hall, and there find great expectation what the Parliament will do, when they come two days hence to sit again, in matters of religion. The great question is whether the Presbyters will be contented to let the Papists have the same liberty of conscience with them or no, or rather be denied it themselves, and the Papists I hear, are very busy in designing how to make the Presbyters consent to take their liberty, and to let them have the same

with them, which some are apt to think they will. It seems a priest was taken in his vests officiating somewhere in Holborn the other day, and was committed by Secretary Morris, according to law, and they say the Bishop of London did give him thanks for it.

17th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found at cards with Pickering, but he made an end soon, and so all alone he told me he had a great secret to tell me, such as no flesh knew but himself, nor ought, which was this: that yesterday morning Eschar, Mr. Edward Montagu's man, did come to him from his master with some of the clerks of the Exchequer, for my Lord to sign to their books for the Embassy money; which my Lord very civilly desired not to do till he had spoke with his master himself. In the afternoon, my Lord and my Lady Wright being at cards in his chamber, in comes Mr. Montagu, and desiring to speak with my Lord at the window in his chamber, he began to charge my Lord with the greatest ingratitude in the world; that he that had received his earldom, garter, £4,000 per annum, and whatever he has in the world from him, should now study him all the dishonour that he could; and so fell to tell my Lord that if he should speak all that he knew of him, he could do so and so. In a word, he did rip up all that could be said that was unworthy, and in the basest terms they could be spoken in. To which my Lord answered with great temper, justifying himself, but endeavouring to lessen his heat, which was a strange temper in him, knowing that he

did owe all he hath in the world to my Lord, and that he is now all that he is by his means and favour. But my Lord did forbear to increase the quarrel, knowing that it would be to no good purpose for the world to see a difference in the family, but did allay them so as that he fell to weeping. And after much talk (among other things Mr. Montagu telling him that there was a fellow in the town, naming me, that had done ill offices, and that if he knew it to be so, he would have him cudgeled) my Lord did promise him that, if upon account he saw that there were not many tradesmen unpaid, he would sign the books, but if there was he could not bear with taking too great a debt upon him. So this day, he sent him an account and a letter assuring him there was not above £200 unpaid, and so my Lord did sign to the Exchequer books. Upon the whole, I understand fully what a rogue he is, and how my Lord do think and will think of him for the future, telling me that thus he has served his father my Lord Manchester and his whole family, and now himself; and, which is worst, that he hath abused, and in speeches every day do abuse my Lord Chancellor whose favour he hath lost, and hath no friend but Sir H. Bennet, and that (I knowing the rise of his friendship) only from the likeness of their pleasures, and acquaintance, and concernments they have in the same matters of lust and baseness, for which, God forgive them! But he do flatter himself, from promises of Sir H. Bennet, that he shall have a pension of £2,000 per

annum, and be made an earl. My Lord told me he expected a challenge from him, but told me there was no great fear of him, for there was no man lies under such an imputation as he do in the business of Mr. Cholmley, who, though a simple, sorry fellow, do brave him and struts before him with the Queen, to the sport and observation of the whole Court.* Mr. Pickering tells me the story is very true of a child being dropped at the ball at Court, and that the King had it in his closet a week after, and did dissect it, and making great sport of it said, that in his opinion, it must have been a month and three hours old, and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss (it being a boy, as he says) that hath lost a subject by the business. He tells me too, that Sir H. Bennet is a Catholic, and how all the Court almost is changed to the worst since his coming in, they being afraid of him. And that the Queen-Mother's court is now the greatest of all, and that our own Queen hath little or no company come to her, which I know also to be very true, and am sorry to see it.

February 18. Mr. Hater and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last; and all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of £374,743 a year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation, but

I know not anything what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. This day I read the King's speech to the Parliament yesterday, which is very short and not very obliging, but only telling them his desire to have a power of indulging tender consciences, and that he will yield to have any mixture in the uniformity of the Church's discipline, and says the same for the Papists, but declares against their ever being admitted to have any offices or places of trust in the kingdom, but God knows, too many have.

21st. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes (most of the rest being at the Parliament House), all the morning answering petitions and other business. Towards noon there comes a man as if upon ordinary business, and shows me a writ from the Exchequer, called a Commission of Rebellion, and tells me that I am his prisoner in Field's business; which methought did strike me to the heart, to think that we could not sit in the middle of the King's business. I told him how and where we were employed, and bid him have a care, and perceiving that we were busy he said he would, and did withdraw for an hour, in which time Sir J. Minnes took coach and to Court to see what he could do from thence, and our solicitor against Field come by chance and told me that he would go and satisfy the fees of the Court, and would end the business. So he went away about that, and I stayed in my closet, till by-and-by the man and four more of his fellows came

to know what I would do, and I told them to stay till I heard from the King or my Lord Chief Baron, to both whom I had now sent. With that they consulted, and told me that if I would promise to stay in the house, they would go and refresh themselves, and come again and know what answer I had; so they away and I home to dinner. Before I had dined the bailiffs came back again with the constable, and at the office knock for me, but found me not there; and I hearing in what manner they were come, did forbear letting them know where I was, so they stood knocking and inquiring for me. By-and-by at my parlour window comes Sir W. Batten's mungo, to tell me that his master and lady would have me come to their house through Sir J. Minnes's lodgings, which I could not do, but however, by ladders, did get over the pale between our yards and their house, where I found them (as they have reason) to be much concerned for me, my lady especially. The fellows stayed in the yard swearing with one or two constables, and some time we locked them into the yard, and by-and-by let them out again, and so kept them all the afternoon, not letting them see me or know where I was. One time I went up to the top of Sir W. Batten's house, and out of one of their windows spoke to my wife out of one of ours, which methought, though I did it in mirth, yet I was sad to think what a sad thing it would be for me to be really in that condition. By-and-by comes Sir J. Minnes, who (like himself and all that he does) tells us

that he can do no good, but that my Lord Chancellor wonders that we did not cause the seamen to fall about their ears, which we wished we could have done without our being seen in it; and Captain Grove being there, he did give them some affront, and would have got some seamen to have drubbed them but he had not time, nor did we think it fit to have done it, they having executed their commission; but there was occasion given that he did draw upon one of them, who did complain that Grove had pricked him in the breast, but no hurt done, but I see that Grove would have done our business to them if we had bid him. By-and-by comes Mr. Clerke, our solicitor, who brings us a release from our adverse attorney, we paying the fees of the commission, which comes to five marks, and the charges of these fellows, which are called the commissioners but are the most rake-shamed rogues that ever I saw in my life, so he showed them this release, and they seemed satisfied and went away with him to their attorney to be paid by him. But before they went Sir W. Batten and my lady did begin to taunt them, but the rogues answered them as high as themselves, and swore they would come again, and called me rogue and rebel, and they would bring the sheriff and untile his house before he should harbour a rebel in his house, and that they would be here again shortly. Well, at last they went away, and I by advice took occasion to go abroad, and walked through the street to show myself among the neighbours, that they might

not think worse than the business is. I home to Sir W. Batten's again, where Sir J. Lawson, Captain Allen, Spragge, and several others, and all our discourse about the disgrace done to our office to be liable to this trouble, which we must get removed. Hither comes Mr. Clerke by-and-by, and tells me that he hath paid the fees of the Court for the commission; but the men are not contented with under £5 for their charges, which he will not give them, and therefore advises me not to stir abroad till Monday that he comes or sends to me again, whereby I shall not be able to go to Whitehall to the Duke of York as I ought. Here I stayed vexing, and yet pleased to see everybody for me, and so home, where my people are mightily surprised to see this business, but it troubles me not very much, it being nothing touching my particular person or estate. Sir W. Batten tells me that little is done yet in the Parliament House, but only this day it was moved and ordered that all the members of the House do subscribe to the renouncing of the Covenant, which it is thought will try some of them. There is also a bill brought in for the wearing of nothing but cloth or stuffs of our own manufacture, and is likely to be passed. Among other talk this morning, my lady did speak concerning Commissioner Pett's calling the present King bastard, and other high words heretofore, and Sir W. Batten did tell us that he did give the Duke and Mr. Coventry an account of that and other like matters in writing under

oath, of which I was ashamed, and for which I was sorry.

22nd (Lord's-day). Went not out all the morning; but after dinner to Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's, where discoursing much of yesterday's trouble and scandal; but that which troubled me most was Sir J. Minnes coming from Court at night, and instead of bringing great comfort from thence (but I expected no better from him), he tells me that the Duke and Mr. Coventry make no great matter of it.

23rd. Up by times, and not daring to go by land, did (Griffin going along with me for fear) slip to Whitehall by water; where to Mr. Coventry, and, as we used to do to the Duke; the other of my fellows being come. But we did nothing of our business, the Duke being sent for to the King, that he could not stay to speak with us. This morning come my Lord Windsor to kiss the Duke's hand, being returned from Jamaica. He tells the Duke that from such a degree of latitude going thither he began to be sick, and was never well till his coming so far back again, and then presently begun to be well. He told the Duke of their taking the fort of St. Jago, upon Cuba, with his men; but upon the whole I believe, that he did matters like a young lord, and was weary of being upon service out of his own country, where he might have pleasure. For methought it was a shame to see him this very afternoon, being the first day of his coming to town, to be at a playhouse. To my Lord Sandwich: it was a

great trouble to me (and I had great apprehensions of it) that my Lord desired me to go to Westminster Hall, to the Parliament House door about business, and to Sir Wm. Wheeler, which I told him I would, but durst not go for fear of being taken by these rogues; but was forced to go to Whitehall and take boat, and so land below the Tower at the Iron Gate, and so the back way over Little Tower Hill, and with my cloak over my face, took one of the watermen along with me, and stayed behind our garden wall, while he went to see whether anybody stood within the Merchants' Gate. But there was nobody, and so I got safe into the garden, and coming to open my office door, something behind it fell in the opening, which made me start. So that God knows in what a sad condition I should be if I were truly in debt; and therefore ought to bless God that I have no such real reason, and to endeavour to keep myself, by my good deportment and good husbandry, out of any such condition. At home I find, by a note that Mr. Clerke in my absence hath left here, that I am free, and that he hath stopped all matters in Court; and I was very glad of it. We took coach and to Court, and there saw *The Wild Gallant*, performed by the King's house, but it was ill acted. The King did not seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor anybody else. My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing to-night, and little Steward. Mrs. Wells do appear at Court again, and looks well; so that it may be, the late report of laying the dropped

child to her was not true. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents made him by the peers given to her, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewels than the Queen and Duchess put both together.

24th. Among other things, my Lord (Sandwich) tells me, that he hears the Commons will not agree to the King's late declaration, nor will yield that the Papists have any ground given them to raise themselves up again in England, which I perceive by my Lord was expected at Court.

25th. The Commons in Parliament I hear, are very high to stand to the Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge the Papists (which is endeavoured by the Court Party), nor the Presbyters.

26th. Sir W. Batten and I by water to the Parliament House; he went in, and I walked up and down the Hall. All the news is the great odds yesterday in the votes between them that are for the Indulgence to the Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30. And pretty it is to consider how the King would appear to be a stiff Protestant and son of the Church; and yet willing to give a liberty to these people, because of his promise at Breda. And yet all the world do believe that the King would not have the liberty given them at all.

27th. About 11 o'clock, Commissioner Pett and I

walked to Surgeon's Hall (we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there), where we were led into the Theatre; and by-and-by comes the reader, Dr. Tearne, with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner, and all being settled he began his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Physic, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII. to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. It seems one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions (of his own preparing), not for honour only, but it being soft and sleek it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently; whereas, a stiff one do not come so close, together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude, that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. To Sir W. Batten's to speak upon some business, where I found Sir J.

Minnes pretty well fuddled I thought; he took me aside to tell me how being at my Lord Chancellor's to-day, my Lord told him that there was a Great Seal passing for Sir W. Pen, through the impossibility of the Comptroller's duty to be performed by one man, to be as it were joint comptroller with him, at which he is stark mad, and swears he will give up his place. For my part, I do hope, when all is done that my following my business will keep me secure against all their envys. But to see how the old man did strut and swear that he understands all his duty as easily as crack a nut, and easier, he told my Lord Chancellor, for his teeth are gone; and that he understands it as well as any man in England; and that he will never leave to record that he should be said to be unable to do his duty alone; though God knows he cannot do it more than a child.

28th. The House have this noon been with the King to give him their reasons for refusing to grant any indulgence to Presbyters or Papists, which he, with great content and seeming pleasure, took saying, that he doubted not but he and they should agree in all things, though there may seem a difference in judgments, he having written and declared for an Indulgence: and that he did believe never prince was happier in a House of Commons, than he was in them. At the Privy Seal I did see the docket by which Sir W. Pen is made the Comptroller's assistant, as Sir J. Minnes told me last night.

March 3. This afternoon Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the indulgence; which I am sorry for, and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby, and spoke with my cousin Roger, who is going to Cambridge to-morrow. In the Hall I do hear that the Catholics are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and the people, that is the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King; so that they say the English interest will be lost there.

6th. This day it seems the House of Commons have been very high against the Papists, being incensed by the stir which they make for their having an Indulgence; which, without doubt is a great folly in them to be so hot upon at this time, when they see how averse already the House have showed themselves from it. This evening Mr. Povy tells me that my Lord Sandwich is this day so ill that he is much afraid of him, which puts me to great pain, not more for my own sake than for his poor family's.

7th. Creed told me how for some words of my Lady Gerard's against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queen, the King did the other day apprehend her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queen by

the King, which is much talked of, my Lord her husband being a great favourite.

8th (Lord's-day). To Whitehall to-day; I heard Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, make a good and eloquent sermon upon these words, "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Whence (the chapel in Lent being hung with black, and no anthem after sermon, as at other times) to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W. Wheeler's. I found him out of order, thinking himself to be in a fit of ague, After dinner up to my Lord, there being Mr. Rumball. My Lord, among other discourse, did tell me of his great difficulties passed in the business of the Sound, and of his receiving letters from the King there, but his sending them by Whetstone was a great folly; and the story how my Lord being at dinner with Sydney, one of his fellow plenipotentiaries and his mortal enemy, did see Whetstone, and put off his hat three times to him, and the fellow would not be known, which my Lord imputed to his coxcomby humour (of which he was full) and bid Sydney take notice of him too, when at the very time he had letters in his pocket from the King, as it proved afterwards. And Sydney afterwards did find it out at Copenhagen, the Dutch Commissioners telling him how my Lord Sandwich had desired one of their ships to carry back Whetstone to Lubeck, he being come from Flanders from the King. But I cannot but remember my Lord's equanimity in all these affairs with admiration.

9th. About noon Sir J. Robynson, Lord Mayor, desiring way through the garden from the Tower, called in at the office and there invited me (and Sir W. Pen, who happened to be in the way) to dinner, and we did go. And there had a great Lent dinner of fish, little flesh. There dined with us to-day Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces, both gold and silver (examples of them all) that were made for the King, by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Symons, and of the King by one Rotyr, a German I think, that dined with us also. He extols those of Rotyr above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like, in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The Crowns of Cromwell are now sold it seems, for 25s. and 30s. a-piece.

16th. To the Duke, where we met of course, and talked of our Navy matters. Then to the Commission of Tangier, and there had my Lord Peterborough's Commission read over; and Mr. Secretary Bennet did make his queries upon it, in order to the drawing one for my Lord Rutherford more regularly, that being a very extravagant thing. Here long discoursing upon my Lord Rutherford's despatch, and so broke up. Mr. Coventry and I discoursed how the Treasurer doth intend to come to pay in course, which is the thing of the world that will do the King the greatest service in

the Navy, and which joys my heart to hear of. He tells me of the business of Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Pen; which, he said, was chiefly to make Mr. Pett's being joined with Sir W. Batten to go down the better. And how he well sees that neither one nor the other can do their duties without help.

17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty come, and the rest of the Doctors of the Civil Law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge, given by Dr. Exton, which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetorical, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy (as to its rising again); and their design and consultation was, I could overhear them, how to proceed with the most solemnity and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time. Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's, where we found my Lord with Colonel Strangeways and Sir Richard Floyd, Parliament men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by come in Sir Richard Ford. We had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford a very able man of his brains and tongue, and a scholar. But my Lord Mayor a talking, bragging, buffleheaded fellow, that would be

thought to have led all the City in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plot, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but led them and ploughed with them as oxen and asses (his own words) to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcomb as I could have thought had been in the City. But he is resolved to do great matters in pulling down the shops quite through the City, as he hath done in many places, and will make a thorough passage quite through the City, through Canning Street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vain-glory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carmen affronting of the gentry in the street; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it though it be printed. Here we stayed talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but, however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind tomorrow he will be of another opinion; and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he rants, and pretends to sway all the City in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor

will he suffer them to do, anything but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the City but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the City for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the City shall not dare to stir again. When I am confident there is no man almost in the City cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

20th. Meeting with Mr. Kirton's kinsman in Paul's Churchyard, he and I to a coffee-house, where I hear how there had like to have been a surprisal of Dublin by some discontented Protestants, and other things of like nature; and it seems the Commissioners have carried themselves so high for the Papists that the others will not endure it. Hewlett and some others are taken and clapped up; and they say the King hath sent over to dissolve the Parliament there, who went very high against the Commissioners. Pray God send all well!

21st. By appointment our full board met, and Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Robert Long come from my Lord Treasurer to speak with us about the state of the debts of the Navy, and how to settle it, so as to begin upon the new foundation of £200,000 per annum, which the King is now resolved not to exceed.

22nd (Lord's day). Wrote out our bill for the Parliament about our being made Justices of Peace in the City. So to church, where a dull formal fellow that

prayed for the Right Hon. John Lord Barkeley, Lord President of Connaught, &c. To my Lord Sandwich, and with him talking a good while; I find the Court would have this indulgence go on, but the Parliament are against it. Matters in Ireland are full of discontent.

29th. After dinner in comes Mr. Moore, and sat and talked with us a good while; among other things, telling me that neither my Lord nor he are under apprehensions of the late discourse in the House of Commons concerning resumption of Crown lands.

April 1. I went to the Temple to my cousin Roger Pepys, to see and talk with him a little, who tells me that, with much ado, the Parliament do agree to throw down Popery; but he says it is with so much spite and passion, and an endeavour of bringing all Non-conformists into the same condition, that he is afraid matters will not yet go so well as he could wish.

2nd. Sir W. Pen told me that this day the King hath sent to the House his concurrence wholly with them against the Popish priests, Jesuits, &c., which gives great content, and I am glad of it.

3rd. To the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but £7,000 per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring is £5,300. The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be £13,000; besides £1,000 a year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension,

and the fortifications and contingencies, which puts us to a great stand. I find at Court that there is some bad news from Ireland of an insurrection of the Catholics there, which puts them into an alarm. I hear also in the City that for certain there is an embargo upon all our ships in Spain, upon this action of my Lord Windsor's at Cuba, which signifies little or nothing, but only he hath a mind to say that he hath done something before he comes back again.

4th. After dinner to Hyde Park; at the park was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they greeting one another at every turn.

8th. By water to Whitehall, to chapel, where preached Dr. Pierce, the famous man that preached the sermon, so much cried up, before the King against the Papists. His matter was the Devil tempting our Saviour, being carried into the Wilderness by the Spirit. And he hath as much of natural eloquence as most men that ever I heard in my life, mixed with so much learning. After sermon I went up and saw the ceremony of the Bishop of Peterborough's paying homage upon the knee to the King, while Sir H. Bennet, Secretary, read the King's grant of the Bishopric of Lincoln, to which he is translated. His name is Dr. Lany. Here I also saw the Duke of Monmouth, with his Order of the Garter, the first time I ever saw it. I hear that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and

banquet; and made him Master of Arts there. All which, they say, the King took very well. Dr. Raynbow, Master of Magdalene, being now Vice-Chancellor.

12th (Lord's day). Coming home to-night a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to handsel them.

14th. Sir G. Carteret tells me to-night that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things in question; and, above all, the expenses of the Navy; and do inquire into the King's expenses everywhere, and into the truth of the report of people being forced to sell their bills at 15 per. cent. loss in the Navy; and, lastly, that they are in a very angry pettish mood at present, and not likely to be better.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-sops and fish; the only time that we have had a Lenten dinner all this Lent. To Paul's Churchyard, to cause the title of my English "Mare Clausum" to be changed, and the new title dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen dedicated to the Commonwealth.

20th. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes to my Lord Treasurer's, thinking to have spoken about getting money for paying the Yards; but we found him with some ladies at cards, and so, it being a bad time to speak, we parted. This day the little Duke of Monmouth was married at Whitehall, in the King's

chamber; and to-night is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings, near Charing-Cross. I observed his coat at the tail of his coach: he gives the arms of England, Scotland, and France, quartered upon some other fields, but what it is that speaks his being a bastard I know not.

25th. I did hear that the Queen is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he having not supped once with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine: who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and come home with him last night; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her own home to a chamber in Whitehall, next to the King's own, which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.

27th. By water to Whitehall; but found the Duke of York gone to St. James's for this summer; and thence with Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke's closet. And a good while with him about Navy business; and so I to Whitehall, and there a long while with my Lord Sandwich discoursing about his debt to the Navy, wherein he hath given me some things to resolve him in.

The Queen (which I did not know) it seems was at Windsor at the late St. George's feast there; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her with his hat in his hand, the King came in and kissed him, and made him put on his hat, which everybody took notice of.

28th. To Chelsea, where we found my Lord all

alone with one joint of meat at dinner, and mightily extolling the manner of his retirement, and the goodness of his diet: the mistress of the house hath all things most excellently dressed; among others her cakes admirable, and so good that my Lord's words were, they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine. From ordinary discourse my Lord fell to talk of other matters to me, of which chiefly the second part of the fray, which he told me a little while since of, between Mr. Edward Montagu and himself; that he hath forborne coming to him almost two months, and do speak not only slightly of my Lord everywhere, but hath complained to my Lord Chancellor of him, and arrogated all that ever my Lord hath done to be only by his direction and persuasion. Whether he hath done the like to the King or no, my Lord knows not; but my Lord hath been with the King since, and finds all things fair; and my Lord Chancellor hath told him of it, but he so much contemns Mr. Montagu, as my Lord knows himself very secure against anything the fool can do; and notwithstanding all this, so noble is his nature, that he professes himself ready to show kindness and pity to Mr. Montagu on any occasion. My Lord told me of his presenting Sir H. Bennet with a gold cup of £100, which he refuses, with a compliment; but my Lord would have been glad he had taken it, that he might have had some obligations upon him which he thinks possible the other may refuse to prevent it; not that he hath any reason to doubt his

kindness. But I perceive great differences there are at Court; and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lord Bristol, and their faction, are likely to carry all things before them (which my Lord's judgment is will not be for the best), and particularly against the Chancellor, who, he tells me, is irrecoverably lost: but, however, that he do so not actually join in anything against the Chancellor, whom he do own to be a most sure friend, and to have been his greatest; and therefore will not openly act in either, but passively carry himself even. The Queen, my Lord tells me, he thinks he hath incurred some displeasure with, for his kindness to his neighbour my Lady Castlemaine. My Lord tells me he hath no reason to fall for her sake, whose wit, management, nor interest, is not likely to hold up any man, and therefore he thinks it not his obligation to stand for her against his own interest. The Duke and Mr. Coventry my Lord sees he is very well with, and fears not but they will show themselves his very good friends, specially at this time, he being able to serve them, and they needing him, which he did not tell me wherein. Talking of the business of Tangier, he tells me that my Lord Teviott is gone away without the least respect paid to him, nor indeed to any man, but without his commission; and, if it be true what he says, having laid out seven or eight thousand pounds in commodities for the place: and besides having not only disobliged all the Commissioners for Tangier, but also Sir Charles Barkeley the other day, who spoke in

• behalf of Colonel Fitz-Gerald, that having been Deputy-Governor there already, he ought to have expected and had the Governorship upon the death or removal of the former Governor. And whereas it is said that he and his men are Irish, which is indeed the main thing that hath moved the King and Council to put in Teviott to prevent the Irish having too great and the whole command there under Fitz-Gerald; he further said that there was never an Englishman fit to command Tangier; my Lord Teviott answered yes, there were many more fit than himself or Fitz-Gerald either. So that Fitz-Gerald being so great with the Duke of York, and being already made Deputy-Governor, independent of my Lord Teviott, and he being also left here behind him for a while, my Lord Sandwich do think that, putting all these things together, the few friends he hath left, and the ill posture of his affairs, my Lord Teviott is not a man of the conduct and management that either people take him to be, or is fit for the command of the place. And here, speaking of the Duke of York and Sir Charles Barkeley, my Lord tells me that he do very much admire the good management, and discretion, and nobleness of the Duke, that however he may be led by him or Mr. Coventry singly in private, yet he did not observe that in public matters, but he did give as ready hearing and as good acceptance to any reasons offered by any other man against the opinions of them, as he did to them, and would concur in the prosecution of it.

Then we come to discourse upon his own sea-accompts, and come to a resolution how to proceed in them: wherein, though I offered him a way of evading the greatest part of his debt honestly, by making himself debtor to the Parliament before the King's time, which he might justly do, yet he resolved to go openly and nakedly in it, and put himself to the kindness of the King and Duke, which humour, I must confess, and so did tell him (with which he was not a little pleased) had thriven very well with him, being known to be a man of candid and open dealing, without any private tricks or hidden designs as other men commonly have in what they do. From that we had discourse of Sir G. Carteret, and of many others; and upon the whole I do find that it is a troublesome thing for a man of any condition at Court to carry himself even, and without contracting envy or enviers; and that much discretion and dissimulation is necessary to do it.

May 4. To St. James's; where Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen and I stayed for the Duke's coming in, but not coming, we walked to Whitehall; and meeting the King, we followed him into the Park, where Mr. Coventry and he talking of building a new yacht out of his private purse, he having some contrivance of his own. The talk being done, we fell off to Whitehall, leaving the King in the Park; and going back, met the Duke going towards St. James's to meet us. So he turned back again, and to his closet at White-

hall; and there, my Lord Sandwich present, we did our weekly errand, and so broke up; and I to the garden with my Lord Sandwich (after we had sat an hour at the Tangier Committee); and after talking largely of his own businesses, we began to talk how matters are at court; and though he did not flatly tell me any such thing, yet I do suspect that all is not kind between the King and the Duke, and that the King's fondness to the little Duke do occasion it; and it may be that there is some fear of his being made heir to the Crown. But this my Lord did not tell me, but is my guess only; and that my Lord Chancellor is without doubt falling past hopes.

5th. With Sir J. Minnes, he telling many old stories of the Navy, and of the state of the Navy, at the beginning of the late troubles, and I am troubled at my heart to think, and shall hereafter cease to wonder, at the bad success of the King's cause when such a knave as he (if it be true what he says) had the whole management of the fleet, and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwick, and carrying the fleet to the King, wherein he failed most fatally to the King's ruin.

6th. To the Exchange with Creed, where we met Sir J. Minnes, who tells us, in great heat, that the Parliament will make mad work: that they will render all men incapable of any military or civil employment that have borne arms in the late troubles against the King, excepting some persons; which, if it be so, as I

hope it is not, will give great cause of discontent, and I doubt will have but bad effects.

Sir Thomas Crewe this day tells me that the Queen, hearing that there was £40,000 per annum brought into her account among the other expenses of the Crown before the Committee of Parliament, she took order to let them know that she hath yet for the payment of her whole family received but £4,000, which is a notable act of spirit, and I believe is true.

7th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him. He tells me of the order the House of Commons have made for the drawing an Act for the rendering none capable of preferment or employment in the State, but who have been loyal and constant to the King and Church; which will be fatal to a great many, and makes me doubt lest I myself, with all my innocence during the late times, should be brought in, being employed in the Exchequer; but, I hope, God will provide for me.

10th. Put on a black cloth suit, with white linings under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. I walked to St. James's, and was there at mass, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down: and mass being done, to the King's Head ordinary, where many Parliament men; and most of their talk was about the news from Scotland, that the Bishop of Galloway was besieged in his house by some women, and had like to have been outraged, but I know not how he was secured; which is bad news, and looks as

- it did in the beginning of the late troubles. From thence they talked of rebellion; and I perceive they make it their great maxim to be sure to master the City of London, whatever comes of it or from it.

11th. With Sir W. Pen to St. James's, where we attended the Duke of York: and, among other things; Sir G. Carteret and I had a great dispute about the different value of the pieces of eight rated by Mr. Creed at 4s. and 5d., and by Pitts at 4s. and 9d., which was the greatest husbandry to the King? he proposing that the greatest sum was; which is as ridiculous a piece of ignorance as could be imagined. However, it is to be argued at the Board, and reported to the Duke next week; which I shall do with advantage, I hope. I went homeward, after a little discourse with Mr. Pierce the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings near the King's chamber at Court; and that the other day Dr. Clarke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased. •

14th. Met Mr. Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborn; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again; and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's, to play at cards,

where he lost £50; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose £50 for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like.

15th. I walked in the Park, discoursing with the keeper of the Pell Mell, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball. Thence to Mr. Coventry; and sitting by his bedside he did tell me that he did send for me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's allowances for his several pays, and what his thoughts are concerning his demands; which he could not take the freedom to do face to face, it being not so proper as by me: and did give me a most friendly and ingenuous account of all; telling me how unsafe at this juncture, while every man's, and his actions particularly, are descanted upon, it is either for him to put the Duke upon doing, or my Lord himself to desire anything extraordinary, 'specially the King having been so bountiful already; which the world takes notice of even to some repinings. All which he did desire me to discourse to my Lord of; which I have undertaken to do. At noon by coach to my Lord Crewe's, hearing that my Lord Sandwich dined there; where I told him what had passed between Mr. Coventry and myself; with which he was contented, though I could perceive not very well pleased. And

• I do believe that my Lord do find some other things go against his mind in the House; for in the motion made the other day in the House by my Lord Bruce, that none be capable of employment but such as have been loyal and constant to the King and Church, that the General and my Lord were mentioned, to be excepted; and my Lord Bruce did come since to my Lord, to clear himself that he meant nothing to his prejudice, nor could it have any such effect if he did mean it. After discourse with my Lord, to dinner with him; there dining there my Lord Montagu of Boughton, Mr. William Montagu his brother, the Queen's Solicitor, &c., and a fine dinner. Their talk about a ridiculous falling-out two days ago at my Lord of Oxford's house, at an entertainment of his, there being there my Lord of Albemarle, Lynsey, two of the Porters, my Lord Bellasses, and others, where there were high words, and some blows, and pulling off of periwigs; till my Lord Monk took away some of their swords, and sent for some soldiers to guard the house till the fray was ended. • To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! After dinner I went up to Sir Thomas Crewe, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizziness; and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon upon the unhappy posture of things at this time; that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice,

and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine, and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear or listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that nowadays do most study his honour. It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Barkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again; there being now little for him to do, and he waits at Court attending to speak to the King as others do: which I pray God may prove of good effects, for it is feared it will be the same with my Lord Treasurer shortly. But strange to hear how my Lord Ashley, by my Lord Bristol's means (he being brought over to the Catholic party against the Bishops, whom he hates to the death, and publicly rails against them; not that he is become a Catholic, but merely opposes the Bishops; and yet, for aught I hear, the Bishop of London keeps as great with the King as ever), is got into favour, so much that, being a man of great business and yet of pleasure, and drolling, too, he, it is thought, will be made Lord Treasurer upon the death or removal of the good old man. My Lord Albemarle, I hear, do bear through and bustle among them, and will not be removed from the King's good

opinion and favour, though none of the Cabinet; but yet he is envied enough. It is made very doubtful whether the King do not intend the making of the Duke of Monmouth legitimate; but surely the Commons of England will never do it, nor the Duke of York suffer it, whose Lady, I am told, is very troublesome to him by her jealousy. No care is observed to be taken of the main chance, either for maintaining of trade or opposing of factions, which, God knows, are ready to break out, if any of them (which God forbid!) should dare to begin; the King and every man about him minding so much their pleasures or profits. My Lord Hinchinbroke, I am told, hath had a mischance to kill his boy, by his birding-piece going off as he was a fowling. The gun was charged with small shot, and hit the boy in the face and about the temples, and he lived four days. In Scotland, it seems, for all the newsbooks tell us every week that they are all so quiet, and everything in the Church settled, the old woman had liked to have killed, the other day, the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the Churches of the whole kingdom conform. Strange were the effects of the late thunder and lightning about a week since at Northampton, coming with great rain, which caused extraordinary floods in a few hours, bearing away bridges, drowning horses, men, and cattle. Two men passing over a bridge on horseback, the arches before and behind them were borne away, and that left which they were upon: but, however, one of the horses fell

over, and was drownéd. Stacks of faggots carried as high as a steeple, and other dreadful things; which Sir Thomas Crewe showed me letters to him about from Mr. Freemantle and others, that it is very true. The Portugals have choused us, it seems, in the Island of Bombay, in the East Indies; for, after a great chargè of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugal to receive it, the Governor by some pretence or other will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough; which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queen will fare the worse for it. The Dutch decay there exceedingly, it being believed that their people will revolt from them there and they forced to give up their trade. Sir Thomas showed me his picture and Sir Anthony Vandyke's in crayon in little, done exceedingly well.

18th. I walked to Whitehall, and into the Park, seeing the Queen and maids of honour passing through the house going to the Park. But above all, Mrs. Stuart is a fine woman, and they say now a common mistress to the King, as my Lady Castlemaine is; which is a great pity.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr. Slingsby and Mr. Howard, Controller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Controller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good

discourse upon the business we have been upon. They now coin between £16,000 and £24,000 in a week. At dinner they did discourse very finely to us of the probability that there is a vast deal of money hid in the land—from this, that in King Charles's time there was near ten millions of money coined, besides what was then in being of King James's and Queen Elizabeth's, of which there is a good deal at this day in being. Next that there was but £750,000 coined of the Harp and Cross money, and of this there was £500,000 brought in upon its being called in. And from very good arguments they find that there cannot be less of it in Ireland and Scotland than £100,000; so that there is but £150,000 missing; and of that, suppose that there should be not above £50,000 still remaining, either melted down, hid, or lost, or hoarded up in England, there will then be but £100,000 left to be thought to have been transported. Now, if £750,000 in twelve years' time lost but £100,000 in danger of being transported, then £10,000,000 in thirty-five years' time will have lost but £3,888,880 and odd pounds; and as there is £650,000 remaining after twelve years' time in England, so after thirty-five years' time, which was within this two years, there ought in proportion to have resting £6,111,120 or thereabouts, besides King James's and Queen Elizabeth's money. Now, that most of this must be hid is evident, as they reckon, because of the dearth of money immediately upon the calling-in of the State's

money, which was £500,000 that come in, and then there was not any money to be had in this City, which they say to their own observation and knowledge was so. And therefore, though I can say nothing in it myself, I do not dispute it.

23rd. To Whitehall; where, in the Matted Gallery, Mr. Coventry was, who told us how the Parliament have required of Sir G. Carteret and him an account what money shall be necessary to be settled upon the Navy for the ordinary charge, which they intend to report £200,000 per annum. And how to allot this we met this afternoon, and took their papers for our perusal, and so parted.

24th. Meeting Mr. Lewis Phillips of Brampton, he and afterwards others tell me that news come last night to Court, that the King of France is sick of the spotted fever, and that they are struck in again; and this afternoon my Lord Mandeville is gone from the King to make him a visit, which will be great news, and of great import through Europe. By-and-by in comes my Lord Sandwich; he told me this day a vote hath passed that the King's grants of land to my Lord Monk and him should be made good; which pleases him very much. He also tells me that things do not go right in the House with Mr. Coventry; I suppose he means in the business of selling places; but I am sorry for it.

27th. With Pett to my Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; where we met the auditors about

settling the business of the accounts of persons to whom money is due before the King's time in the Navy, and the clearing of their imprests for what little of their debts they have received. I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quiet, and diligent person. Roger Pepys tells me that the King hath sent to the Parliament to hasten to make an end by midsummer, because of his going into the country; so they have set upon four bills to dispatch; the first of which is, he says, too devilish a severe act against conventicles; so beyond all moderation that he is afraid it will ruin all: telling me that it is matter of the greatest grief to him in the world, that he should be put upon this trust of being a Parliament man, because he says nothing is done, that he can see, out of any truth and sincerity, but mere envy and design. Then into the Great Garden up to the Banqueting House; and there by my Lord's glass we drew in the species very pretty. Afterwards to nine-pins, Creed and I playing against my Lord and Cooke.

28th. By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw *Hamlet* done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid, but neither spoke, danced, nor sung, which I was sorry for.

29th. This day is kept strictly* as a holiday, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and

called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill-temper of the City, at this time, either to religion in general or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and those poor people. To the Duke's house, and there saw *The Slighted Maid*, wherein Gosnell acted *Pyramena*, a great part, and did it very well. Then with Creed to see the German Princess, at the Gate-house, at Westminster.

31st. This month the greatest news is, the height and heat that the Parliament is in, in inquiring into the revenue, which displeases the Court, and their backwardness to give the King any money. Their inquiring into the selling of places do trouble a great many; among the chief, my Lord Chancellor (against whom particularly it is carried), and Mr. Coventry; for which I am sorry. The King of France was given out to be poisoned and dead, but it proves to be the measles; and he is well, or likely to be soon well, again. I find myself growing in the esteem and credit that I have in the office, and I hope falling to my business again will confirm me in it.

June 1. The Duke having been a-hunting to-day, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand Maypole; and there light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the

fencers to play prizes at. And here I come and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life, and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwicke, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood, and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwicke was in a sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of the swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. This day I hear at Court of the great plot which was lately discovered in Ireland, made among the Presbyters and others, designing to cry up the Covenant, and to secure Dublin Castle and other places; and they have debauched a good part of the army there, promising them ready money. Some of the Parliament there, they say, are guilty, and some withdrawn upon it; several persons taken, and among others a son of Scott's, that was executed here for the King's murder. What reason the King hath, I know not; but it seems he is doubtful of Scotland, and this afternoon, when I was there, the council was called extraordinary, and they were opening the letters this last post's coming and going between Scotland and us and other places. The King of France is well again.

2nd. To St. James's, to Mr. Coventry, where I had an hour's private talk with him concerning his own condition, at present being under the censure of the House, being concerned with others in the Bill for selling of offices. He tells me, that though he thinks himself to suffer much in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of evil to hang over him; for that it is against no statute, as is pretended, nor more than what his predecessors time out of mind have taken; and that so soon as he found himself to be in an error, he did desire to have his fees set, which was done, and since that time he hath not taken a token more. He undertakes to prove that he did never take a token of any captain to get him employed in his life beforehand, or demanded anything; and for the other accusation, that the Cavaliers are not employed, he looked over the list of them now in the service, and of the twenty-seven that are employed, thirteen have been heretofore always under the King; two neutrals, and the other twelve men of great courage, and such as had either the King's particular commands, or great recommendation to put them in, and none by himself. Besides that, he sees it is not the King's nor Duke's opinion that the whole party of the late officers should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he confesses that the more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet; and that, whenever there comes occasion, it must be the old ones that must do any good. He tells me that he cannot

guess whom all this should come from; but he suspects Sir G. Carteret, as I also do, at least that he is pleased with it. But he tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to be the first adviser and instructor of him what is to make his place of benefit to him; telling him that Smith did make his place worth £5,000, and he believed £7,000 to him the first year; besides something else greater than all this, which he forbore to tell me. It seems one Sir Thomas Tomkins of the House, that makes many mad motions, did bring it into the House, saying that a letter was left at his lodgings, subscribed by one Benson (which is a feigned name, for there is no such in the Navy), telling how many places in the Navy have been sold. And by another letter, left in the same manner since, nobody appearing, he writes him that there is one Hughes and another Butler (both rogues, that have for their roguery been turned out of their places), that will swear that Mr. Coventry did sell their places and other things. I offered him my service, and will with all my heart serve him: but he tells me he do not think it convenient to meddle, or to any purpose. To Westminster Hall, where I hear more of the plot from Ireland; which it seems hath been hatching, and known to the Lord Lieutenant a great while, and kept close till within three days that it should have taken effect.

4th. In the Hall a good while; where I heard that this day the Archbishop of Canterbury, Juxon, a man

well spoken of by all for a good man, is dead; and the Bishop of London is to have his seat. The match between Sir J. Cutts and my Lady Jemimah, he says, is likely to go on; for which I am glad. In the Hall to-day Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queen begins to be brisk, and play like other ladies, and is quite another woman from what she was. It may be, it may make the King like her the better, and forsake his two mistresses, my Lady Castlemaine and Stewart.

6th. To York House, where the Russian Ambassador do lie; and there I saw his people go up and down lousing themselves: they are all in a great hurry, being to be gone the beginning of next week. But that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place, in the door-cases and the windows. Sir John Hebden, the Russia Resident, did tell me how he is vexed to see things at Court ordered as they are by nobody that attends to business, but every man himself or his pleasures. He cries up my Lord Ashley to be almost the only man that he sees to look after business; and with the ease and mastery, that he wonders at him. He cries out against the King's dealing so much with goldsmiths, and suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them. He tells me also, with what exact care and order the States of Holland's stores are kept in their Yards, and every thing managed there by their builders with

such husbandry as is not imaginable; which I will endeavour to understand further.

7th. Mrs. Turner, who is often at Court, do tell me to-day that for certain the Queen hath much changed her humour, and is become very pleasant and sociable as any; and they say is with child, or believed to be so. After church to Sir W. Batten's; where my Lady Batten inveighed mightily against the German Princess, and I as high in the defence of her wit and spirit, and glad that she is cleared at the Sessions.

12th. To the Royal Theatre; and there saw *The Committee*, a merry but indifferent play, only Lacey's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge, and his Lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the House began to fill she put on her vizard, and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself,

13th. To the Royal Theatre; and in our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also. Yesterday, upon conference with the King in the Banqueting House, the Parliament did agree with much ado, it being carried but by forty-two voices, that they would supply him with a sum of money: but what and how is

not yet known, but expected to be done with great disputes the next week. But if done at all, it is well.

15th. To the Trinity House; where, among others, I found my Lords Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys, and Sir Wm. Wheeler. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very sceptical. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any, is the present appearing of the Devil in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and, they say, very true; but my Lord observes, that though he do answer to any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one time he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole; and I think it is a good argument.

16th. Dined with Sir W. Batten; who tells me that the House have voted the supply, intended for the King, shall be by subsidy.

17th. This day I met with Pierce the surgeon; who tells me that the King has made peace between Mr. Edward Montagu and his father Lord Montagu, and that all is well again; at which, for the family's sake, I am glad, but do not think it will hold long.

19th. To Lambeth, expecting to have seen the Archbishop lie in state; but it seems he is not laid out yet. At the Privy Seal Office examined the books, and found the grant of increase of salary to the principal officers

in the year 1639, £300 among the Controller, Surveyor, and Clerk to the Ships. Met Captain Ferrers; who tells us that the King of France is well again, and that he saw him train his Guards, all brave men, at Paris; and that when he goes to his mistress, Madame La Vallière, a pretty little woman, now with child by him, he goes publicly, and his trumpets and kettledrums with him; and yet he says that, for all this, the Queen do not know of it, for that nobody dares to tell her; but that I dare not believe.

22nd. To Westminster, where all along I find the shops evening with the sides of the houses, even in the broadest streets, which will make the City very much better than it was. It seems the House do consent to send to the King to desire that he would be graciously pleased to let them know who it was that did inform him of what words Sir Richard Temple should say, which were to this purpose: "That if the King would side with him, or be guided by him and his party, that he should not lack money," but without knowing who told it, they do not think fit to call him to any account for it. The Duke being gone a hunting, by-and-by came in and shifted himself, he having in his hunting led his horse through a river up to his breast, and came so home; and being ready we had a long discourse with him.

23rd. To the office, and after an hour or two by water to the Temple, to my cousin Roger, who, I perceive, is a deadly high man in the Parliament business,

and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, above four millions of money since he come in; and in Sir J. Winter's case, in which I spoke to him, he is so high that he says he deserves to be hanged. To the 'Change; and by-and-by comes the King and the Queen by in great state, and the streets full of people. I stood in Mr. —'s balcony. They dine all at LY Lord Mayor's, but what he do for victuals or room for them I know not.

24th. To St. James's, and there an hour's private discourse with Mr. Coventry, he speaking of Sir G. Carteret slightly, and diminishing of his services for the King in Jersey; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the King, all the time he was there, and that it was always his humour to have things done his way. He brought an example how he would not let the Castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the town did offer to supply it more often themselves. Another thing he told me, how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profit as Admiral, and other things, toward the building of a pier there. But it was never laid out, nor like to be. So it falling out that a lady being brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land to be joined with him, the lady replied,

“Why, let him choose; and if he will not be a god-father without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his own.” He tells me, too, that he hath lately been observed to tuck about at Court, and to endeavour to strike in with the persons that are against the Chancellor; but this he says of him, that he do not say nor do anything to the prejudice of the Chancellor. But he told me that the Chancellor^r was rising again, and that of late Sir G. Carteret’s business and employment hath not been so full as it used to be while the Chancellor stood up. From that we discoursed of the evil of putting out men of experience in business as the Chancellor, and of the condition of the King’s party at present, who, as the Papists, though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law kept for these fourscore years out of employment, they are now wholly incapable of business; and so the Cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for the most part have either given themselves over to look after country and family business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery, &c.; and that was it that hath made him high against the late Bill brought into the House for the making all men incapable of employment that had served against the King. People, says he, in the sea-service, it is impossible to do anything without them, there being not more than three men of the whole King’s side that are fit to command almost; and these were Captain Allen, Smith, and Beech; and it may be Holmes, and Utber, and Batts might do something.

25th. Sir G. Carteret did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugal speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portuguese were never more courageous than now; for by an old prophecy sent thither some years though not many since from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and ~~then~~ their country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday come the very first news that in this valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards.

26th. The House is upon the King's answer to their message about Temple, which is, that my Lord of Bristol did tell him that Temple did say those words, so the House are resolved upon sending some of their members to him to know the truth, and to demand satisfaction if it be not true. Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lady Batten, and I, by coach to Bednall Green to Sir W. Rider's to dinner. A fine merry walk with the ladies alone after dinner in the garden; the greatest quantity of strawberries I ever saw, and good. This very house was built by the blind beggar of Bednall Green, so much talked of and sung in ballads, but they say it was only some of the out-houses of it. At table, discoursing of thunder and lightning, Sir W. Rider did tell a story of his own knowledge,

that a Genoese galley in Leghorn Roads was struck by thunder, so as the mast was broke a pieces, and the shackle upon one of the slaves was melted clear off his leg without hurting his leg. Sir William went on board the vessel, and would have contributed towards the release of the slave whom heaven had thus set free, but he could not compass it, and so he was brought to his fetters again.

29th. Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugals against the Spaniards, where 10,000 slain, 3,000 or 4,000 taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, &c., and Don John of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him.

30th. Public matters are in an ill condition: Parliament sitting and raising four subsidies for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants; and yet that parted withal with great hardness. They being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the public's paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court; which the King it is believed and hoped will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him; he expecting to have his £1,200,000 made good to him, which is not yet done by above £150,000 as he himself reports to the House. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to £200,000 per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customs. The

King gets greatly taken up with Madam Castle-maine and Mrs. Stewart, which Heaven put an end to!

July 1. Being in the Parliament lobby, I there saw my Lord of Bristol come to the Commons House to give his answer to their question, about some words he should tell the King that were spoke, by Sir Richard Temple. A chair was set at the bar of the House for him, which he used but little, but made an harangue of half an hour bareheaded, the House covered. His speech being done, he came out into a little room till the House had concluded of an answer to his speech; which they staying long upon, I went away. And by-and-by out comes Sir W. Batten; and he told me that his Lordship had made a long and a comedian-like speech, and delivered with such action as was not becoming his Lordship. He confesses he did tell the King such a thing of Sir Richard Temple, but that upon his honour the words were not spoken by Sir Richard, he having taken a liberty of enlarging to the King upon the discourse which had been between Sir Richard and himself lately; and so took upon himself the whole blame, and desired their pardon, it being not to do any wrong to their fellow member, but out of zeal to the King. He told them, among many other things, that as to religion he was a Roman Catholic, but such a one as thought no man to have right to the Crown of England but the Prince that hath it; and

such a one as, if the King should desire counsel as to his own, he would not advise him to another religion than the old true reformed religion of this kingdom as it now stands; and concluded with a submission to what the House shall do with him, saying that whatever they shall do—"thanks be to God, this head, this heart, and this sword (pointing to them all), will find me a being in any place in Europe." The House hath hereupon voted clearly Sir Richard Temple to be free from the imputation of saying those words; but when Sir William Batten came out, had not concluded what to say to my Lord, it being argued that to own any satisfaction as to my Lord from his speech, would be to lay some fault upon the King for the message he should upon no better accounts send to the impeaching of one of their members. Walking out, I hear that the House of Lords are offended that my Lord Digby should come to this House and make a speech there without leave first asked of the House of Lords. I hear also of another difficulty now upon him; that my Lord of Sunderland (whom I do not know) was so near to the marriage of his daughter, as that the wedding clothes were made, and portion and everything agreed on and ready; and the other day he goes away nobody yet knows whither, sending her the next morning a release of his right or claim to her, and advice to his friends not to inquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough for it; and that he gives them liberty

to say and think what they will of him, so they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her. To Sir W. Batten, to the Trinity House; and after dinner we fell a-talking, Mr. Batten telling us of a late trial of Sir Charles Sedley, the other day, before my Lord Chief Justice Foster and the whole bench, for his debauchery a little while since at Oxford Kate's. It seems my Lord and the rest of the Judges did all of them round give him a most high reproof; my Lord Chief Justice saying, that it was for him, and such wicked wretches as he was, that God's anger and judgments hung over us, calling him sirrah many times. It seems they have bound him to his good behaviour (there being no law against him for it) in £5,000. It being told that my Lord Buckhurst was there, my Lord asked whether it was that Buckhurst that was lately tried for robbery; and when answered Yes, he asked whether he had so soon forgot his deliverance at that time, and that it would have more become him to have been at his prayers, begging God's forgiveness, than now running into such courses again. This day I hear at dinner that Don John of Austria, since his flight out of Portugal, is dead of his wounds; so there is a great man gone, and a great dispute like to be indeed for the crown of Spain, if the King should have died before him. My cousin Roger told us the whole passage of my Lord Digby to-day, much as I have said here above; only that he did say

that he would draw his sword against the Pope himself, if he should offer any thing against His Majesty, and the good of these nations; and that he never was the man that did either look for a Cardinal's cap for himself, or anybody else, meaning Abbot Montagu: and the House upon the whole did vote Sir Richard Temple innocent; and that my Lord Digby hath cleared the honour of His Majesty, and Sir Richard Temple's, and given perfect satisfaction of his own respects to the House.

2nd. Walking in the garden this evening with Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes, Sir G. Carteret told us with great content how like a stage-player my Lord Digby spoke yesterday, pointing to his head as my Lord did, and saying, "First, for his head," says Sir G. Carteret, "I know when a calf's head would have done better by half: for his heart and his sword, I have nothing to say to them." He told us that for certain his head cost the late King his, for it was he that broke off the treaty at Uxbridge. He told us also how great a man he was raised from a private gentleman in France by Monsieur Grandmont, and afterwards by the Cardinal, who raised him to be a Lieutenant-general, and then higher; and entrusted by the Cardinal when he was banished out of France with great matters, and recommended by him to the Queen as a man to be trusted and ruled by: yet when he came to have some power over the Queen, he began to dissuade

her from her opinion of the Cardinal; which she said nothing to till the Cardinal was returned, and then she told him of it; who told my Lord Digby, "Et bien, Monsieur, vous estes un fort bon amy donc:" but presently put him out of all; and then from a certainty of coming in two or three years' time to be Mareschal of France, (to which all strangers, even Protestants, and those as often as French themselves, are capable of coming, though it be one of the greatest places in France), he was driven to go out of France into Flanders; but there was not trusted, nor received any kindness from the Prince of Condé, as one to whom also he had been false, as he had been to the Cardinal and Grandmont. In fine, he told us that he is a man of excellent parts, but of no great faith nor judgment, and one very easy to get up to great height of preferment, but never able to hold it.

3rd. Mr. Moore tells me great news that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired. He gives me no account of the reason, but that it is so: for which I am sorry; and yet if the King do it to leave off not only her but all other mistresses, I should be heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business. I hear my Lord Digby is condemned at Court for his speech, and that my Lord Chancellor grows great again. With Mr. Creed over the water to Lambeth; but could not see the Archbishop's hearse: so over the fields to Southwark. I spent

half an hour in St. Mary Overy's Church, where are fine monuments of great antiquity.

4th. Sir Allen Apsley showed the Duke the Lisbon Gazette in Spanish, where the late victory is set down particularly, and to the great honour of the English beyond measure. They have since taken back Evora, which was lost to the Spaniards, the English making the assault, and lost not more than three men. Here I learnt that the English foot are highly esteemed all over the world, but the horse not so much, which yet we count among ourselves the best: but they abroad have had no great knowledge of our horse, it seems. To the King's Head ordinary; and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from Court, but knows not the reason; he told us of one wiper the Queen a little while ago did give her, when she came in and found the Queen under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: "I wonder your Majesty," says she, "can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?"—"I have so much reason to use patience," says the Queen, "that I can very well bear with it." He thinks it may be the Queen hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely. Thence with Creed to hire a coach to carry us to Hyde Park, to-day there being a general muster of the King's Guards, horse and foot: but they demand so high, that I, spying Mr. Cutler the merchant, did take notice of him, and he going into his coach, and telling me that

he was going to the muster, I asked and went along with him; where a goodly sight to see so many fine horses and officers, and the King, Duke, and others come by a-horseback, and the two Queens in the Queen-Mother's coach, (my Lady Castlemaine not being there). And after long being there, I light, and walked to the place where the King, Duke, &c. did stand to see the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a French Marquis (for whom this muster was caused) the goodness of our firemen; which indeed was very good, though not without a slip now and then: and one broadside close to our coach we had going out of the Park, even to the nearness as to be ready to burn our hairs. Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be. Thence with much ado out of the Park, and through St. James's down the waterside over to Lambeth, to see the Archbishop's corpse (who is to be carried away to Oxford on Monday), but came too late. This day in the Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standard written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Councillor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipped for not knowing.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure.

7th. In Mr. Pett's garden I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning. Deane tells me what Mr. Pett did to-day, that my Lord Bristol told the King that he will impeach the Chancellor of High Treason: but I find that my Lord Bristol hath undone himself already in everybody's opinion, and now he endeavours to raise dust to put out other men's eyes, as well as his own; but I hope it will not take, in consideration merely that it is hard for a Prince to spare an experienced old officer, be he never so corrupt; though I hope this man is not so, as some report him to be. He tells me that Don John is yet alive, and not killed, as was said, in the great victory against the Spaniards in Portugal of late.

9th. Sir W. Pen tells me my Lady Castlemaine was at Court for all this talk this week; but it seems the King is stranger than ordinary to her.

10th. I met Pierce the chirurgeon, who tells me that for certain the King is grown colder to my Lady Castlemaine than ordinary, and that he believes he begins to love the Queen, and do make much of her, more than he used to do. Mr. Coventry tells me that my Lord Bristol hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords, of high treason.

The chief of the articles are these: 1st That he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it. 2nd. That Dunkirk was also sold by his advice chiefly, so much to the damage of England. 3rd. That he had £6,000 given him for the drawing up, or promoting of the Irish declaration lately, concerning the division of the lands there. 4th. He did carry on the design of the Portugal match, so much to the prejudice of the Crown of England, notwithstanding that he knew the Queen is not capable of bearing children. 5th. That the Duke's marrying of his daughter was a practice of his, thereby to raise his family, and that it was done by indiscreet courses. 6th. As to the breaking off of the match with Parma, in which he was employed at the very time when the match with Portugal was made up here, which he took as a great slur to him, and so it was, and that indeed, is the chief occasion of all this feud. 7th. That he hath endeavoured to bring in Popery, and wrote to the Pope for a cap for a subject of the King of England's (my Lord Aubigny), and some say that he lays it to the Chancellor that a good Protestant secretary (Sir Edward Nicholas), was laid aside, and a Papist, Sir H. Bennet, put in his room; which is very strange, when the last of these two is his own creature, and such an enemy accounted to the Chancellor, that they never did nor do agree, and all the world did judge the

Chancellor to be falling from the time that Sir H. Bennet was brought in. Besides my Lord Bristol being a Catholic himself, all this is very strange. These are the main of the articles. Upon which my Lord Chancellor desired the noble Lord that brought in these articles would sign to them with his hand; which my Lord Bristol did presently. Then the House did order that the Judges should, against Monday next, bring in their opinion, whether these articles are treason or no? and next they would know whether they were brought in regularly or no, without leave of the Lord's House?

11th. By barge to St. Mary's Creek, where Commissioner Pett (doubtful of the growing greatness of Portsmouth by the finding of those creeks there), do design a wet dock at no great charge, and yet no little one; he thinks towards £10,000. And the place, indeed, is likely to be a very fit place, when the King hath money to do it with.

13th. I walked to the Temple, and there, from my cousin Roger, hear that the Judges have this day brought in their answer to the Lords, that the articles against my Lord Chancellor are not treason; and tomorrow they are to bring in their arguments to the House for the same. This day also the King did send by my Lord Chamberlain to the Lords, to tell them from him, that the most of the articles against my Lord Chancellor he himself knows to be false. I met the

Queen-Mother walking in the Pell Mell, led by my Lord St. Alban's. And finding many coaches at the Gate, I found upon inquiry that the Duchess is brought to bed of a boy; and hearing that the King and Queen are rode abroad with the Ladies of Honour to the Park, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also stayed walking up and down. By-and-by the King and Queen, who looked in this dress (a white laced waistcoat, and a crimson short petticoat, and her hair dressed *à la negligence*) mighty pretty, and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine rode among the rest of the ladies, but the King took, methought, no notice of her; nor when she light did anybody press (as she seemed to expect, and stayed for it) to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat (which all took notice of), and yet is very handsome, but very melancholy; nor did anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to anybody. I followed them up into Whitehall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauties and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stewart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red

plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taile, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life, and if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress; nor do I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.

14th. This day I hear the Judges, according to order yesterday, did bring into the Lord's House their reasons of their judgments in the business between my Lord, Bristol and the Chancellor, and the Lords do concur with the Judges that the articles are not treason, nor regularly brought into the House, and so voted that a committee should be chosen to examine them, but nothing to be done therein till the next sitting of this Parliament (which is likely to be adjourned in a day or two), and in the mean time the two Lords to remain without prejudice done to either of them.

15th. Captain Grove came and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchess themselves, and how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr. Coventry did report this of me.

21st. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22nd. To my Lord Crew's. My Lord not being

come home, I met and stayed below with Captain Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St. James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child (a boy). In discourse of the ladies at Court, Captn. Ferrers tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is now as great again as ever she was; and that her going away was only a fit of her own upon some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago than last night, there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queen at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited: but being at my Lady Suffolk's, her aunt's (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined), yesterday she was heard to say, "Well, much good may it do them, and for all that, I will be as merry as they;" and so she went home, and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queen at Wallingford House, he came to my Lady Castlemaine's, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stewart,

however, my Lady Castlemaine's nose will be ~~but~~ of joint; for that she comes to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she. Wotton tells me the reason of Harris's going from Sir Wm. Davenant's house is, that he grew very proud and demanded £20 for himself extraordinary more than Betterton or anybody else, upon every new play, and £10 upon every revive, which with other things Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other house; but the King will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great loss to the House, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other House privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the King and everybody else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton he being a more ayery man, as he is indeed. But yet Betterton he says, they all say do act some parts that none but himself can do. I hear that the Moors have made some attacks upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviott, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off and kill many of them. To-morrow the King and Queen for certain go down to Tunbridge. But the King comes back again against Monday to raise the Parliament.

25th. Having intended this day to go to Banstead Downs to see a famous race, I sent Will to get him-

self ready to go with me : but I hear it is put off, because the Lords do sit in Parliament to-day. After some debate, Creed and I resolved to go to Olapham, to Mr. Gauden's. When I came there, the first thing was to show me his house, which is almost built. I find it very regular and finely contrived, and the gardens and offices about it as convenient and as full of good variety as ever I saw in my life. It is true he hath been censured for laying out so much money ; but he tells me that he built it for his brother, who is since dead (the Bishop), who when he should come to be Bishop of Winchester, which he was promised (to which bishopric at present there is no house), he did intend to dwell here. By-and-by to dinner, and in comes Mr. Creed ; I saluted his lady and the young ladies, and his sister, the Bishop's widow ; who was, it seems, Sir W. Russel's daughter, the Treasurer of the Navy ; who I find to be very well bred, and a woman of excellent discourse. Towards the evening we bade them adieu, and took horse ; being resolved that instead of the race which fails us, we would go to Epsom. When we came there we could hear of no lodgings, the town so full ; but which was better, I went towards Ashted, and there we got a lodging in a little hole we could not stand upright in. While supper was getting I walked up and down behind my cousin Pepys's house that was, which I find comes little short of what I took it to be when I was a little boy.

26th (Lord's day). Up and to the Wells, where a great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Thence I walked to Mr. Minnes's house, and thence to Durdan's and walked within the court-yard and to the bowling green, where I have seen so much mirth in my time; but now no family in it (my Lord Barkeley, whose it is, being with his family at London). Then rode through Epsom, the whole town over, seeing the various companies that were there walking; which was very pleasant to see how they are there without knowing what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters. But Lord! to see how many I met there of citizens, that I could not have thought to have seen there; that they had ever had it in their heads or purses to go down thither. We went through Non-such Park to the house, and there viewed as much as we could of the outside, and looked through the great gates, and found a noble court; and altogether believe it to have been a very noble house, and a delicate park about it, where just now there was a doe killed for the King to carry up to court.

27th. We rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water (observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day) home, it being about one o'clock. By water to Westminster, and there come most luckily to the Lords' House, as the House of Commons were going into the Lords'

House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King (who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight), wherein he told his Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royal consent. The greatest matters were a bill for the Lord's day (which it seems the Lords have lost, and so cannot be passed, at which the Commons are displeas'd). The bills against Conventicles and Papists (but it seems the Lords have not passed them), and giving his majesty four entire subsidies; which last, with about twenty smaller Acts, were passed with this form. The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end and there finds (writ by the King, I suppose) "Le Roy le veult," and that he reads. And to others he reads, "Soit fait comme vous desirez." And to the Subsidies, as well that for the Commons, I mean the laity, as for the Clergy, the King writes, "Le Roy remercient les Seigneurs et Prelats et accepte leur benevolence." The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain (though good matter) as anything could be, and void of elocution. After the bills passed, the King sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper, which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it all the time he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidies, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or

received them; and that need, not from any extravagance of his, he was sure, in anything, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be; and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour however to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c., assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something to be done this summer. And promised that though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists were not ripe for passing this Session, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this interval be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills for them concerning them. So he concluded, that for the better proceeding of justice he did think fit to make this a Session, and to prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any; but rather on the contrary imperfectly, repeating many times his words, though he read all: which I am sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the speech with-

out book. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, he being by-and-by to go to Tunbridge to the Queen; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. By water to Whitehall, and walked over the Park to St. James's, but missed Mr. Coventry; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pell Mell. It being a little darkish I stayed not to take notice of him, but went directly back again. And in our walk over the Park, one of the Duke's footmen came running behind us, and came looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.

29th. To Deptford, reading by the way a most ridiculous play, a new one, called *The Politician Cheated*.

30th. To Woolwich, and there come Sir G. Carteret, and then by water back to Deptford, where we dined with him at his house. I find his little daughter Betty, that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two ago, and is a very little young child, married, and to whom, but to young Scott, son to Madam Catharine Scott, that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband; he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not own it, but it seems a little before his death he did own the child, and hath left

him his estate, not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about £2,000 per annum, and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means over-reached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means Sir G. Carteret hath married two daughters this year both very well. The town talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downs, between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tyler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him, though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tyler's head.

31st. To the Exchange, where I met Dr. Pierce, who tells me of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy-Chamber to the Queen, and without my Lord Sandwich's help, but only by his good fortune, meeting a man that hath let him have his right for a small matter, about £60 for which he can every day have £400. But he tells me my Lord hath lost much honour in standing so long and so much for that coxcomb Pickering, and at last not carrying it for him; but hath his name struck out by the King and Queen themselves after he had been in ever since the Queen's coming. But he tells me he believes that either Sir H. Bennet, my Lady Castlemaine, or Sir Charles Barkeley had received some money for the place, and so the King could not disappoint them, but

was forced to put out this fool rather than a better man. And I am sorry to hear what he tells me that Sir Charles Barkeley hath still such power over the King, as to be able to fetch him from the Council-table to my Lady Castlemaine when he pleases. He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by being so severe in the Yards, and contracting the ill-will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can (nor do he say any say it), charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who, he tells me, do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone, and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my own services. However, I will make use of his counsel, and take some course to prevent having the single ill-will of the office. Mr. Grant showed me letters of Sir William Petty's, wherein he says, that his vessel, which he hath built upon two keels (a model whereof, built for the King, he showed me), hath this month won a wager of £50 in sailing between Dublin and Holyhead with the packet-boat, the best ship or vessel the King hath there, and he offers to lay with any vessel in the world. It is about thirty ton in

burden, and carries thirty men, with good accommodation (as much more as any ship of her burden), and so any vessel of this figure shall carry more men, with better accommodation by half, than any other ship. This carries also ten guns, of about five tons weight. In their coming back from Holyhead they started together, and this vessel came to Dublin by five at night, and the packet-boat not before eight the next morning, and when they came they did believe that this vessel had been drowned, or at least behind, not thinking she could have lived in that sea. Strange things are told of this vessel, and he concludes his letter with this position, "I only affirm that the perfection of sailing lies in my principle, find it out who can." ..

August 8. I with Mr. Coventry down to the water-side, talking, wherein I see so much goodness and endeavours of doing the King service, that I do more and more admire him.

9th. To church, and heard Mr. Mills (who is lately returned out of the country, and it seems was fetched in by many of the parishioners, with great state) preach upon the authority of the ministers, upon these words, "We are, therefore, ambassadors of Christ." Wherein, among other high expressions, he said, that such a learned man used to say, that if a minister of the word and an angel should meet him together, he would salute the minister first, which methought was

a little too high. This day I began to make use of the silver pen (Mr. Coventry did give me) in writing of this sermon, taking only the heads of it in Latin, which I shall, I think, continue to do.

10th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Sandwich, my Lord Peterborough (whom I have not seen before since his coming back), Sir W. Compton, and Mr. Povy. Our discourse about supplying my Lord Teviott with money, wherein I am sorry to see, though they do not care for him, yet they are willing to let him for civility and compliment only have money also without expecting any account of it; and he being such a cunning fellow as he is, the King is like to pay dear for our courtier's ceremony. Thence by coach with my Lords Peterborough and Sandwich to my Lord Peterborough's house; and there, after an hour's looking over some fine books of the Italian buildings, with fine cuts, and also my Lord Peterborough's bows and arrows, of which he is a great lover, we sat down to dinner, my Lady coming down to dinner also, and there being Mr. Williamson, that belongs to Sir H. Bennet, whom I find a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited. Yesterday, I am told, that Sir J. Lenthall in Southwark did apprehend about one hundred Quakers, and other such people, and hath sent some of them to the gaol at Kingston, it being now the time of the Assizes. Dr. Pierce tells me the Queen is

grown a very debonnaire lady; but my Lady Castle-maine, who rules the King in matters of state, and does what she lists with him, he believes is now falling quite out of favour. After the Queen is come back she goes to the Bath, and so to Oxford, where great entertainments are making for her. This day I am told that my Lord Bristol hath warrants issued out against him, to have carried him to the Tower, but he is fled away or hid himself. So much the Chancellor hath got the better of him.

13th. Met with Mr. Hoole, my old acquaintance of Magdalene, and walked with him an hour in the Park, discoursing chiefly of Sir Samuel Morland, whose lady is gone into France. It seems he buys ground and a farm in that country, and lays out money upon building, and God knows what, so that most of the money he sold his pension of £500 per annum for to Sir Arthur Slingsby is believed is gone. It seems he hath very great promises from the King, and Hoole has seen some of the King's letters, under his own hand, to Morland, promising him great things (and among others, the order of the Garter, as Sir Samuel says); but his lady thought it below her to ask anything at the King's first coming, believing the King would do it of himself, when as Hoole do really think if he had asked to be Secretary of State at the King's first coming, he might have had it. And the other day at her going into France, she did speak largely to the

King herself, how her husband hath failed of what his Majesty had promised, and she was sure intended him; and the King did promise still, as he is a King, and a gentleman, to be as good as his word in a little time, to a tittle: but I never believe it.

21st. Meeting with Mr. Creed, he told me how my Lord Teviott hath received another attack from Guyland at Tangier with 10,000 men, and at last, as is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him.

23rd. To church, and so home to my wife; and with her read "Iter Boreale," a poem, made first at the King's coming home; but I never read it before, and now like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up.

24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord; and I perceive he confides in me and loves me as he uses to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well; all I fear is that he will not live within compass. There come to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the city of Lisbon, which he measured with his own hand, and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have been better done than by Jobing. Besides I put him upon having some took off upon white satin, which he ordered presently. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for £500 and took a

new one of him for £700, which I am, by lending him more money, to make up; and am glad of it.

25th. This noon going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon inquiry I find that he is the clerk of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor begins again an old custom, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fair, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Aldermen in Moorfields yesterday; second day, shooting; and to-morrow hunting. And this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the city, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems the people of the fair cry out upon it as a great hindrance to them.

26th. To Whitehall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going this day out towards the Bath. Pleased to see Capt. Hicke come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yard, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaveries; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear everywhere, that my name is up for a good husband to the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr. C~~o~~entry.

28th. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost they say abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

September 2. To dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sick by not daring to drink wine. After dinner into a withdrawing room; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword is at least a hundred or two hundred years old; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mourns, but properly is their Lenten sword to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that. Mr. Lewellin, lately come from Ireland, tells me how the English interest falls mightily there, the Irish party being too great, so that most of the old rebels are found innocent, and their lands, which were forfeited and bought or given to the English, are restored to them; which gives great discontent there among the English. Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the pillar set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City; and observed that this City is as well watered as any city in the world, and that the bringing of water to the City hath cost it first and last above £300,000; but by the new building, and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about (and which the City

stomach I perceive highly, but, dare not oppose it), were it now to be done, it would not be done, for a million of money.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and there, bought the first news books of L'Estrange's writing, he beginning this week; and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning. This day I read a Proclamation for calling in and commanding everybody to apprehend my Lord Bristol.

5th. I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indies; both of the country, and the disappointment the King met with the last voyage, by the knavery of the Portugal Viceroy, and the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombay, if we had had it. But above all things it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out; and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queen's portion, should not be better understood; it being, if we had it, but a poor place, and not really so as was described to our King in the draught of it, but a poor little island; whereas they made the King and Lord Chancellor, and other learned men about the King, believe that that, and other islands which are near it, were all one piece: and so the draught was drawn and presented to the King, and believed by the King, and expected to prove so when our men come thither; but it is quite otherwise.

12th. Up betimes, and by water to Whitehall: and

thence to Sir Philip Warwick, and there had half an hour's private discourse with him: and did give him some good satisfaction in our Navy matters, and he, also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy; so as he makes me assured by particulars, that Sir G. Carteret is paid within £80,000, every farthing that we to this day, nay to Michaelmas day next, have demanded; and that, I am sure, is above £50,000 more than truly our expenses have been, whatever is become of the money. Home with great content that I have thus begun an acquaintance with him, who is a great man, and a man of as much business as any man in England; which I will endeavour to deserve and keep.

22nd. This day the King and Queen are to come to Oxford. I hear my Lady Castlemaine is for certain gone to Oxford to meet him, having lain within here at home this week or two, supposed to have miscarried; but for certain is as great in favour as heretofore; at least Mrs. Sarah at my Lord's, who hears all from their own family, do say so. Every day brings news of the Turk's advance into Germany, to the awakening of all the Christian Princes thereabouts, and possessing himself of Hungary.

24th. I went forth by water to Sir Philip Warwick's, where I was with him a pretty while; and in discourse he tells me, and made it appear to me that the King cannot be in debt to the Navy at this time

£5,000: and it is my opinion that Sir G. Carteret do owe the King money, and yet the whole Navy debt paid. Thence I parted, being doubtful of myself that I have not spoke with the gravity and weight that I ought to do in so great a business. But I rather hope it is my doubtfulness of myself, and the haste which he was in, some very great personages waiting for him without, while he was with me, that made him willing to be gone.

28th. To Whitehall, where Sir J. Minnes and I did spend an hour in the Gallery, looking upon the pictures, in which he hath some judgment. And by-and-by the Commissioners for Tangier met: and there my Lord Teviott, together with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draught of the mole to be built there; and report that it is likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will. After discourse of this, and of supplying the garrison with some more horse, we rose; and Sir J. Minnes and I home again, finding the street about our house full, Sir R. Ford beginning his shrievalty to-day: and, what with his, and our houses being new painted, the street begins to look a good deal better than it did, and more graceful. News that the King comes to town for certain on Thursday next from his great progress.

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